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**PERSONALITY, MANY IN ONE**

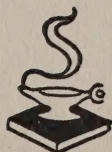


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# PERSONALITY, MANY IN ONE

*An Essay in Individual Psychology*

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Abnormal" and "Outline of Abnormal Psychology"*



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*Dedicated*

TO THE MEMORY OF

MY MOTHER

WHO TAUGHT ME BY HER EXAMPLE THAT

TO KNOW HUMAN NATURE IS TO

LOVE IT THE MORE

AND

MY FATHER

WHO SHOWED ME THE STRENGTH AND STABILITY

OF AN ORGANIZED PURPOSE AND A

DIRECTED WILL





## Preface

**P**ERSONALITY has many facets which may gleam and fade, scintillate and darkle, in bewildering fashion, until all semblance of unity vanishes and every facet seems a separate gem. And yet it has a single plan of structure, one general configuration, which may embrace all the changing phases and interrelated aspects. This book attempts an analysis and description of these phases and aspects, depicts some of the typical arrangements of patterns in the total configuration, and traces the development of personality as the organization grows in response to inner forces and outer conditions.

The account is scientific rather than ethical or metaphysical. The purpose has been to describe and explain the various aspects and types of personality without moral evaluation or ascription of ulterior meaning. This aim was easy to achieve in the purely analytical study of intellect, temperament and character. But in the description of individual differences in personality as a whole, it became more difficult to avoid coloring the account with personal bias. In spite of the effort to be wholly impartial and objective, the very words

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chosen may have been determined by deep-seated feelings and prejudices. The reader may therefore sense the author's preferences and aversions in the description of unbalanced and developmental types; but this should not blind him to the fact that such types exist, though they might be delineated in congruity with a different emotional bias.

The psychology of personality has implications for education, ethics and philosophy, which the reader will readily infer for himself. The views expressed regarding development mean that all aspects of the personality change or unfold in response to experience and training just as intellect develops as a result of education. And further, the understanding and appreciation of human nature as such suggests a revaluation of life's values and the substitution of a more human ethics for the compensatory moral concepts of the past. But repression and overcompensation need not give way to the uncurbed expression of every impulse. They may be replaced by control or directed expression, which implies a constructive elaboration of behavior and conduct. Thus human nature is accepted as a foundation for the building of an organized and æsthetically balanced super-structure. So life is imbued with value and given a creative purpose.

## PREFACE

The author would like to take this opportunity of thanking all psychologists and others who have helped him to a better understanding of human nature. He wishes in particular to acknowledge his indebtedness to his wife, K. M. Banham Bridges, who offered many valuable suggestions and contributed especially to the analysis of temperament. He desires also to express his gratitude to Alison McK. Palmer who read the original manuscript and assisted in correcting the proof and whose keen sense of reality often kept him from losing contact with fundamental truths in mere conceptual constructions. He is likewise grateful to the friends with whom he has discussed differences among people and to those who represent the types described, for they have helped him to appreciate more fully the complexity and social significance of personality.

J. W. B.





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# *Personality, Many in One*



## CHAPTER I

### The Meaning of Personality

**I**N the popular mind personality is a mysterious and supernatural power possessed in varying degrees by some human beings and not at all by others. Those who possess it have in consequence an irresistible appeal, a fascinating influence, or a commanding presence; while the less fortunate are unattractive and lacking in such magnetic qualities. This view is probably a more or less distorted relic of the theological and philosophical conceptions of the past, when personality was regarded by eminent writers as the "gift of the gods," the reflection of the divine being, or the metaphysical and transcendental essence of man. In academic circles these philosophical conceptions remained dominant until the beginning of the present century.

During the last few years personality has become more and more the subject of psychological

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enquiry, but at the same time it has undergone a further disparagement in the public mind. Under the influence of popular writers and moving pictures, it has come to mean merely physical attraction or even more narrowly "sex appeal"; and it provides a topic of conversation for ladies at their afternoon bridge parties, for men in their clubs, and for sportsmen on the track or in the ring.

### *A Psychological View*

The psychological conception of personality is scarcely yet clearly defined. It is identified sometimes with behavior responses, sometimes with feelings and emotions, and again with the totality of mental and physical traits. The writer's view is gradually unfolded in the successive chapters of this book, and only the general attitude or standpoint and a few fundamental principles are stated here. In the beginning it is necessary to discard from our minds all supernatural ideas about personality and all mysterious notions about the magnetic influence of one person upon another, and approach the subject from a purely natural science point of view. The conception we shall develop is not that of the theologians and philosophers, nor of ordinary laymen, nor of the "intellectual underworld" with its magic potencies, universal vibrations and mystic powers. It is that

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of empirical and theoretical science and common sense.

The word "person" is derived from the Latin *persona*, meaning at first a mask worn by an actor and then the actor himself. Since "all the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players," the word comes to mean just a human being. Any human being no matter what age, sex, race, or cultural, legal or economic status is for our purposes a person. The two terms are practically synonymous. Personality is "the quality or state of being a person," or better "that which constitutes or characterizes a human being." A human being may be described from the points of view of different sciences. Hence we may speak of the morphology, physiology, biochemistry, and psychology of personality. This book treats mainly of the psychology of personality, but some reference is made to those physical aspects which may have psychological significance.

It cannot be said of any human being that he has no personality. A personality may be weak or strong, simple or complex, balanced or unstable, organized or dissociated, but it cannot be altogether lacking. Personality of some sort everyone must have. On the other hand it is inaccurate to speak of the personality of a dog or a horse. Only persons have personality. Dogs may be said

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to have "caninality," meaning "that which constitutes and distinguishes dogs," horses "equinality," worms "vermality," and so forth. Thus, when we talk of the personality of an animal, we are either referring to its human qualities or using metaphorical language.

Personality may be compared with individuality. The latter term means, etymologically, indivisability. An individual is thus a separate entity, and individuality is the quality or state of separate existence. These terms are therefore broader than person and personality. Horses, dogs and worms as well as human beings are individuals and have individuality, but only human beings are persons and have personality, just as only dogs are canines and have "caninality."

In summary then, personality is that which characterizes, constitutes and distinguishes a human being. It is the totality of all physical and mental characteristics, traits and processes, and their interrelationships. Thus it becomes a truism that every human being has personality of a sort and no other being has. The psychology of personality is therefore the whole of human psychology with special emphasis on the interrelationship of processes and the distinctively human features. It involves some consideration of the physical personality, particularly of behavior re-



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sponses and the structure and function of the nervous system.

### *Aspects of Personality*

As mentioned above, personality has both physical and mental aspects. A human being is constituted of or characterized by morphological form and parts, by physiological activities and interrelationships, and by psychological states and processes. The morphological aspect includes internal anatomy as well as physique and external features. The physiological aspect comprises the functions of organs and simple responses to stimulation. And the psychological aspect embraces both conscious experiences and complex behavior responses.

The psychological personality has itself three major aspects. Every human being perceives or thinks, feels, and acts. That is to say, mental life has cognitive, affective and conative aspects. Cognition is the "knowing" side of mind. It includes perception, memory, imagination and thought. Affectivity is the "feeling" part. It includes simple feelings of pleasantness and unpleasantness as well as major emotions like fear and anger, and it plays a leading rôle in the sentiments. Conation means the inner experience of impulse, effort, or drive. The drives manifest

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themselves in behavior responses, which are thus related to but not identical with conation.

The cognitive aspect of personality is called "intellect," the affective "temperament," and the conative and motor "character." These three aspects are intimately interrelated and inextricably interwoven in the total personality. They cannot exist independently and are discussed separately merely for purposes of exposition and description. The whole personality cannot be described in detail at once, even if a more general sketch is possible. So chapters are presented on the various parts that constitute personality, namely, physical aspects, intellect, temperament and character; and then follows a more general account of the personality as a whole.

### *Origins of Personality*

The sources of personality are in original nature. The newly born child is mainly a product of heredity, although even the infant has been affected by the interuterine environment and prenatal nutrition. And a baby has a personality. It is a functionally integrated organism and has also the beginnings of neural organization. It is affected by and responds to stimulation. The influences of the environment continue to impinge upon

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this rudimentary personality, leaving indelible impressions, modifying the affective reactions, and forming patterns of behavior, until the plastic life is moulded to adult shape.

Thus, the personality of the adult is a product of nature and nurture, but it is difficult if not impossible to separate these two influences or classify human traits as "inherited" and "acquired." It seems reasonably certain that the general *structure* of the body, the anatomical features, are mainly inherited. This includes the behavior mechanism, sense organs, muscles, glands, and nerve tissues. It is equally probable that modes of behavior and mental traits are mainly acquired, for these are dependent upon *integrations* of the structural parts and elements. The capacity to form bonds or connections may be due to original nature, but the actual connections are for the most part the result of experience. This is particularly true of the complex integrations involved in intellect, temperament, and character.

Notwithstanding the impossibility of separating the influences that make and mould personality, definite opinions are held by opposing camps; and controversies rage between the staunch advocates of heredity and the more enthusiastic believers in environment. The true scientist must remain ag-

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nostic, or give each opinion its due weight. Personality can of course be studied, described and analysed, without considering the origin of the various traits and processes. It is better not to take sides on a purely speculative question. This is the standpoint of the present book.



## CHAPTER II

### Components and Processes

IT is convenient at the beginning to mention and describe briefly some of the fundamental components and processes of the psychological personality. The term component is preferred to element, because the latter implies an unanalysable unit while the former can be used without implication regarding the ultimate nature of the part. Some of the components and processes are due mainly to original nature and others are products of experience. But these two determinants of personality never operate independently; and it is thus, as previously explained, impossible to separate original from acquired psychological equipment.

#### *Simple Experiences*

The more obvious components of cognition are perceptions, images and ideas. Complex perceptions may be analysed into simpler ones, for example, the perception of an orange into its form, color, taste, smell and "feel." The simplest perceptions are called sensations and are dependent primarily upon the capacities of the sense organs.

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Images and ideas are the subjective or inner experiences involved in imagination and thought, and are no doubt related to activity in the cortex of the brain.

The components of the affective part of personality may be called "affects." They are the simple feelings of pleasantness and unpleasantness, and the more complex emotions such as anger, fear, elation and love. The affects have some relation to the autonomic apparatus (glands, viscera, vegetative nervous system and its central connections) and probably also to the neural functions of facilitation and inhibition.

The conative components are "drives," impulses or urges. These drives may be either simple or complex, original or acquired, universal or unusual; and they manifest themselves in overt behavior as reflexes, instinctive responses, or habits. They may be related to the efferent neural processes of the cerebral cortex and to the specific canalizations of neural energy.

### *Intelligence*

Another component of personality equally important for the development of each aspect is intelligence or the capacity to learn, that is to acquire, modify and combine ideas, affects, drives and movements. This capacity depends upon the

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plasticity of the brain. It is the power to form and change neural associative bonds. These bonds may be formed between any parts of the brain, and, psychologically speaking, among any mental states or processes—whether cognitive, affective or conative. Intelligence is more or less specific, that is keener in some things than in others. Hence we may speak of different kinds of intelligence. For instance, cognitive intelligence is concerned mainly with ideas, affective intelligence mainly with feelings and emotions, and conative and motor intelligence with drives and behavior. These different kinds of intelligence are further discussed in the following chapters.

### *Association*

Association is one of the most fundamental and significant processes in psychology, notwithstanding recent attacks upon associationism and emphasis upon the study of configurations and totalities.<sup>1</sup> It may indeed be true that the simple components or events of consciousness are not built up out of still simpler unconscious elements or atoms, but it is likewise certain that these events themselves become in some way conjoined in actual experience. The formation of bonds or con-

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<sup>1</sup>W. Line, "Three Recent Attacks on Associationism," *The Journal of General Psychology*, 5, 1931, pp. 495-513.

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nections is basic for learning and hence for all mental growth. But this does not mean that the severing of bonds is not also important. Both combination and differentiation, synthesis and analysis are necessary for the development of personality in all its aspects.

Association is thus an essential process of consciousness, and so it is at the same time a primary function of the nervous system. It is a form of integration and includes all integrations due to experience. The fundamental law of association is the law of contiguity which may be stated as follows: *If two or more experiences occur together, they tend to become conjoined so that later, if one occurs, the other may occur also.* Or in neurological terms it may be expressed thus: *When two or more neural systems or patterns are active at the same time, the resistance of the pathways between the systems is lowered so that later activity in one may spread to the other.*

Formerly, association meant only connection among ideas. It has however a broader significance pertaining to the formation of bonds among any experiences. Simple perceptions or sensations and ideas are associated in the acquisition of more complicated perceptions of whole objects or scenes. Feelings and emotions are connected in various ways in the development of the affective



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life. Drives become associated in the organization of character. And movements are connected (co-ordinated) in the formation of habits.

Furthermore, ideas become associated with impulses. Then, if the idea occurs, the impulse and consequent movement are likely to follow, as in so-called "ideo-motor action"; or if the impulse occurs, the idea follows and thought is impulsively determined. Ideas or perceptions also become associated with affects. Thus originally indifferent objects become pleasant, unpleasant, annoying, fearful, or beloved. Indeed pleasant things may actually become unpleasant through associations, and vice versa, the unpleasant may become pleasant, as when one learns to like a disagreeable person or a disagreeable article of food. Even pain may come to be a pleasant experience, if it repeatedly occurs in pleasant situations. Feelings and emotions also become associated with impulses and responses, and in this manner people learn to express their affects in socially acceptable ways.

The frequently described "conditioning" of behavior is merely a special instance of the wider principle of association. In the conditioned reflex, a stimulus, or rather its effect upon a sense organ, has become associated through experience with a reflex action, so that the reaction follows the sub-

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stituted stimulus. Similarly, more complex situations may become connected with more complex responses, thus accounting for much of our social and personal behavior.

### *Dissociation*

Dissociation is the opposite process, the severance of connections, particularly those that have been established as a result of experience. Neurologically, it means the breaking down of neural patterns and other integrations, and may be due to either destruction of connecting neurons (nerve cells) or increase in resistance of intervening synapses. In the former case the dissociation is organic and the condition pathological; in the latter the dissociation is functional and its occurrence universal, though like other processes it is subject to abnormal variation.

Psychologically, dissociation is the loosening of conscious ties, so that mental states or processes are separated and differentiated. Thus dissociation is involved in ordinary discrimination and analysis; but an extreme form of it results in "fragmentation of consciousness" and incoherence in the relationship of mental processes. The sequence of ideas may become desultory, the feelings may not bear their customary relation to the ideas,

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or the movements may be irrelevant and unpredictable.

Certain processes may become completely detached from personal consciousness. Sensory processes are so dissociated in functional cutaneous anæsthesia and in hysterical blindness. Ideational experiences are dissociated in amnesia and in ordinary forgetting. And motor phenomena are dissociated in mannerisms, automatic writing, and somnambulism. Such dissociations occur in everyday experience and in exaggerated form in functional nervous diseases and under hypnosis. The interesting theoretical question arises as to whether these dissociated phenomena exist only as neural traces and activities or also as independent conscious processes.

### *Organization*

Organization is also a process of universal occurrence in personality. It means the combination or integration of parts into a working whole. Thus, a machine is a combination of mechanical parts, and a plant or animal is an integration of cells and organs. Similarly, a human being is an integration and unification of components and processes. This integration is partly mechanical through bones and muscles, partly physiological through digestion, circulation and glandular ac-

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tivity, and partly neural through the central, peripheral and autonomic nervous systems.

The mechanical and physiological integrations are due to original nature, while the neural integrations may be either inherited or acquired. The simple integrations involved in reflex action, food-taking, crying and the like are no doubt inherited; but neural integrations are for the most part products of experience. Integrations determined by experience are called associations as previously mentioned. Thus, all human beings possess some degree of organization, but they differ enormously in the amount and particularly in the organization resulting from environmental influences.

Psychologically, organization means the association of ideas, affects, drives and other components into more and more complex systems; and this is correlated or identical with the association of neurons and neural patterns into more and more complex functional systems. Such organization depends upon: (1) the existence of parts or components; (2) intelligence or associative capacity; (3) environmental influences, education, training and guidance; and (4) interest in or motive for organized development.

The importance of the motive for organization may be illustrated in the development of intellect, which obviously depends upon the drive for



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achievement as well as upon intelligence and opportunity. Similarly, the development of temperament, character and total personality depends in part upon a drive for self-improvement. Perhaps there are in human personality two opposing drives, one constructive and the other disruptive, one striving to build up and the other tending to break down. These drives may be identical with what Jung calls the progressive and regressive trends of the libido, or the Apollonian and Dionysian forces, which are always in conflict in the human psyche.<sup>2</sup> Thus development and organization would mean the overcoming of the disruptive and regressive force by the constructive and artistic drive. A well-organized personality is an artistic achievement.

### *Traits and Abilities*

A trait is any relatively permanent distinguishing feature or characteristic whether mental or physical. Thus, height, speed of reaction, sensory capacity, intelligence, skill, imagination, reasoning ability, and strength of emotions and drives are traits. An ability is any form of power or competency such as sensory or motor capacity, knowledge of chemistry, or dexterity in juggling. Many traits are also abilities, but some traits are not abilities

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<sup>2</sup>C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types*, Kegan Paul, 1923.

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and some essentially transient abilities are not traits. Both traits and abilities may be either original or acquired as distinguished from capacities and aptitudes which are part of original nature, and from special skill and knowledge which are acquired through experience. The terms trait and ability are therefore the most satisfactory for descriptive purposes, since the origin of human characteristics and powers is so often unknown or uncertain.

When a trait or ability is measured in a large population, it is found that the different amounts of the trait are distributed among the people in a peculiar but definite way. A medium amount of the trait is possessed by the largest percentage of persons. As the amount of the trait becomes larger and larger, the percentage of persons possessing it becomes less and less; and as the amount of the trait becomes smaller the percentage possessing it becomes likewise less. Thus exceedingly few people have very much or very little of a trait or ability. Mediocrity predominates in all things, and both greatness and smallness, genius and stupidity are relatively rare.

This form of distribution obtains for physical traits as is shown by Figure 1, which gives the distribution of stature for males born in the British Isles. It also obtains for mental traits as

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is shown by Figure 2, which gives the distribution of scores on a test for intellectual ability. Many

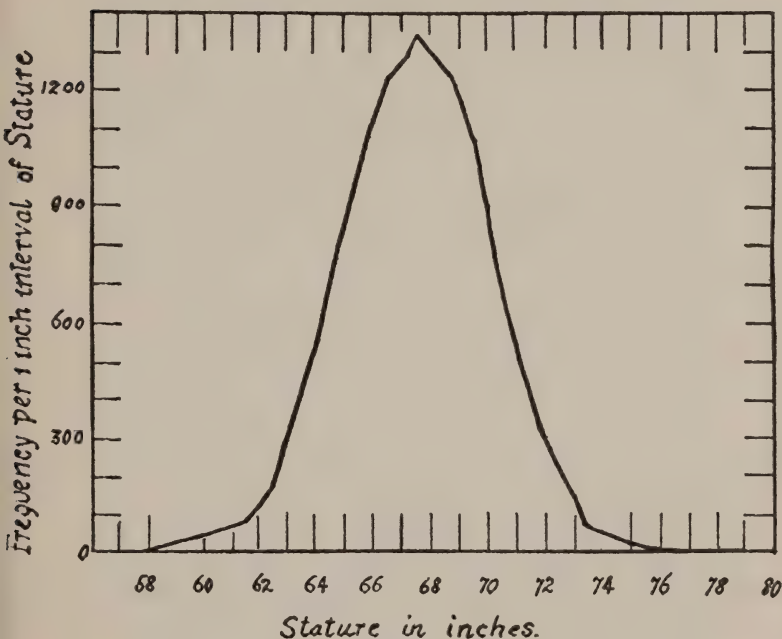


FIG. 1.

Distribution of stature for 8585 adult males born in the British Isles. (From Yule, *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics*, Lippincott, 1916.)

mental traits and abilities have not been measured. For instance, there are no measuring rods for temperamental traits, emotionality, and strength

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of drive. But since traits that have been measured are distributed in the above way, it is legitimate to assume that all mental and physical traits are so distributed. Thus, most people probably have drives of medium intensity, and the weaker or stronger a drive the less frequent its occurrence.

In other words, the distribution of traits and abilities is unimodal as distinguished from bimodal or multimodal, since the curve or graph representing the distribution has only one prominent peak or mode. (See Figures 1 and 2.) This peak represents the central tendency, average or norm of the population. The individual differences or deviations from the norm are represented on the right and left of the peak, the extreme deviations being farthest from the center and forming the more obvious abnormalities.

The *abnormal* merely means that which deviates from the norm or central tendency. It therefore includes both supernormal and subnormal as well as any possibly non-quantitative deviations. It also follows that there are various degrees of abnormality from minor individual differences to the most extreme variations, and there is no separate abnormal type. In fact unimodal distribution refutes the doctrine of types of persons. There is apparently only one type and numerous deviations therefrom in amount and possibly in quality of



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processes, traits and abilities. The so-called types of persons are merely major deviations in different directions from the central tendency.

### *Mental Measurement*

Since the beginning of the present century various attempts have been made to measure mental

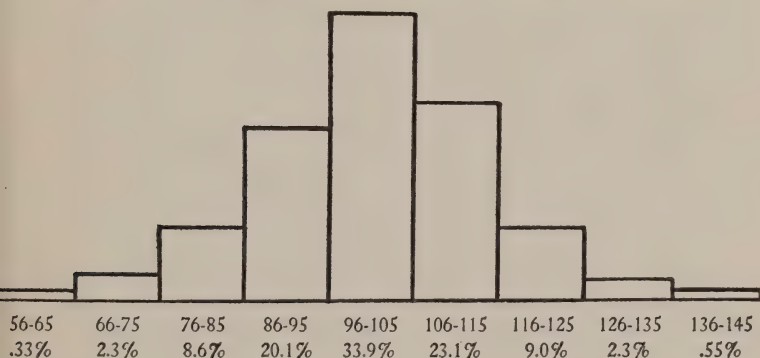


FIG. 2.

Distribution of "Intelligence Quotients" of 905 unselected children, 5-14 years of age. (From Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence*, Houghton Mifflin, 1916.)

traits and abilities. At first tests were devised for the measurement of cognitive traits and motor skills. Then followed various rating scales and other devices for the quantitative evaluation of traits of temperament and character. These attempts may be said to have met with a degree of success, if the results are properly interpreted. At

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any rate an extensive literature has accumulated on mental measurements and the statistical methods involved in their construction and validation. But the testing and measuring of various aspects of personality will not be discussed in this book. That would require a separate treatise of a more technical nature. It will suffice to mention one or two general considerations of major importance.

In the first place, it is necessary to emphasize that all tests and scales measure actualities not potentialities. They measure certain specific traits and abilities as they exist and function at the moment. Now these traits and abilities are always the resultants of both hereditary and environmental influences, but their origin is in no way revealed or indicated by their measurement. One of the most common and inexcusable mistakes is to suppose that tests and scales measure innate traits and abilities. The well-known intelligence tests do not measure intelligence in the sense of innate learning capacity. They measure certain aspects of intellectual, social or cultural status, or motor achievement. Similarly, the so-called aptitude tests do not measure native ability, but rather specific forms of actual functioning ability, and they should therefore be called ability tests. The same is true of rating scales and all other measuring devices.

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Now it is interesting to ascertain a person's actual traits and abilities, and it may have some practical significance to do so. For instance, we may wish to select a person possessing the abilities measured, such as knowledge of the opposites of words, immediate memory for digits, or skill in solving jig-saw puzzles. The problem thus presented is a relatively simple one and the results satisfactory so long as we realize that the tests and scales measure only just the abilities involved in doing the problems or answering the questions, and grant that these are the abilities we wish to measure.

Difficulties and uncertainties arise when the attempt is made to go beyond these obvious facts, when inferences are drawn from the measurements. These inferences may refer to the possession of other abilities or to the future achievement of the person tested. The inference concerning other abilities should be based upon statistically established correlations; but the experimental results are so varied and the correlations in general so low that in a particular case any inference from one trait to another is liable to be misleading if not altogether fallacious.

As for the future achievement of the person tested, perhaps the only reasonable inference to be drawn is that if a person has a trait or ability

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now he is likely to continue having it. The actual trait or precise ability measured today will probably be found in the same degree tomorrow. In the writer's opinion the prediction from test results of success or failure in conduct or work involving traits and abilities other than those measured has about the same status as prediction from handwriting, facial expression, or physique. The advocates of tests often ridicule the quasi-scientific and intuitive methods of character analysis and prediction of achievement without realizing that test methods are also liable to error. And mistakes made in the name of science are even more culpable than those of intuition and common sense. Furthermore, it should be clear that achievement has a plurality of causes, not the least of which are the opening up of opportunities and the awakening of effective drives, and these are factors outside the scope of tests.

## CHAPTER III

### Physical Aspects

**F**ROM the most remote historical times philosophers, scientists and people in general have been attracted and intrigued by the physical differences among human beings, at first differences in general appearance and morphological characteristics and later differences in physiological functioning. The doctrine of temperament which dates from Hippocrates was at first a physical theory. Temperament meant the mixture of humors in a person, the relative proportion of blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile; and these humors were themselves determined by the qualities of their constituent elements, earth, water, air and fire, that is, the cold, the moist, the dry and the hot principles. In accordance with the dominance of the respective humors, a person's temperament was described as sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, or melancholic.

The individual differences in mixture of humors were for a long time significant mainly for medical diagnosis and treatment, but it was no doubt tacitly assumed that the physical temperaments



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had their mental counterparts. At any rate we may be certain that the historical interest in physical differences was at the same time an interest in the mental natures of men and women. The physical and mental were not clearly separated so that the one would imply the other. At the present time it is still generally assumed that physical characteristics are indicative of mental attributes, but the exact nature of the correlation remains undetermined. In this chapter a brief inventory of the physical aspects of personality is given together with some reference to their probable mental correlates.

### *General Appearance*

The personality of first impression is the physical personality. The more important mental personality is revealed only gradually through continued association and intercourse. When we say of a stranger or a new acquaintance that he has a striking or a nondescript personality, we are either referring to purely physical traits or being influenced mainly by them. Such traits include size, especially stature and girth, and color of skin, hair and eyes. They also include that *tout ensemble* and interrelationship of size, color, features, bearing and manner, which we call beauty or ugliness. We are attracted or repulsed by these

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physical characteristics themselves whether or not they are indicative of mental traits. The inferences so often drawn from them regarding the inner personality are for the most part unwarranted and unreliable.

The clothing and grooming are also important aspects of the visible personality from the standpoint of creating an impression. The appearance of dignity and pomp are mainly matters of clothing. If some august assemblage, like the House of Lords or the Council of the League of Nations, would meet in the nude, it would be found that most of its apparent dignity and affected importance had been shed with the clothing. The loin cloth is the garb of humility and democracy. Clothing and grooming may be the outer expressions of mental qualities and attitudes, if they are not merely imitations of a social set, like the copy-book handwriting of a child. The "shaggy" person, lounging in his flannels with unkempt appearance, must surely differ mentally from the "sleek" fellow with his well-pressed trousers and carefully brushed hair.

### *Special Details*

Further acquaintance and closer observation reveal finer details of the physical personality. Of special interest are the physiognomical features,

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the size and shape of the chin, mouth, nose, eyes, ears, and face in general, the curvature of the eyebrows, and the shape of the forehead. Closely related to these are the phrenological details, the dimensions of the head, the cephalic index, and the cranial topography or distribution of "bumps." Then there are the chiological characteristics, the length and breadth of the hand, the shape of the fingers and nails, and the lines and "mounts" of the palm. All of these various physical details have at one time or another been made the basis for inferences regarding mental traits, but the assumed correlations have never been scientifically established. Such physical differences among people are nevertheless interesting in themselves apart from their probable implications.

Many of these physical traits have been carefully measured by means of anthropometric methods, and an extensive literature on anthropometry has appeared. This science is the study and comparison of the bodily dimensions of individuals, sexes, races, men at different epochs of historic or prehistoric time, children at different stages of growth, and people who have migrated from one country to another. Much valuable and useful information has been amassed on the measurable anatomical characteristics of human beings. For instance, it has been found that no

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two persons are identical in a whole series of anthropometrical measurements. Hence these measurements can be used for purposes of identification. The well-known Bertillon system for the identification of criminals consists of anthropometrical measurements together with finger prints which are likewise different for every person.

Some work has also been done on the correlation between anthropometrical measurements and mental traits, but the results of different investigators are contradictory and no definite conclusions can be drawn. It has been found that even the size of the head implies little or nothing regarding mental ability. The head may roughly indicate the size of the brain; but mental ability is not determined by number of cells and amount of tissue. It depends rather upon neural plasticity and complexity of internal organization.

### *Physical Types*

During recent years a marked interest has grown up in the study of morphological and physiological types and the relation of bodily proportions and functionings to mental characteristics and to susceptibility to disease. The movement seems to have arisen independently in Italy, France and Germany. The Italian school, founded by Giovanni and developed by Viola, have classi-

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fied people into macrosplanchnics, microsplanchnics and normosplanchnics.<sup>1</sup> The *macrosplanchnics* have large trunks in proportion to the extremities and are liable to emotional disturbances and the manic-depressive psychosis; the *microsplanchnics* have small trunks relative to the limbs and appear subject to neurasthenic disorders; while the *normosplanchnics* have a balanced relation between these two parts of the body and are presumably also more balanced emotionally.

In France important studies on this subject were begun by Sigaud and carried on by his pupils, particularly MacAuliffe.<sup>2</sup> Sigaud described four types of man, namely, the respiratory, the digestive, the muscular, and the cerebral. These types are determined by the predominance of the respective physiological systems, and their names are suggestive of their physical marks and probable mental correlates. They develop in relation to four different aspects of the environment, air, food, physical conditions, and social milieu; and they have their prototypes in the animal kingdom in the eagle, the bull, the tiger, and man himself. Sigaud's four types are represented schematically in the accompanying diagram. (Figure 3.)

The *respiratory* type has predominance of the

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<sup>1</sup>For summary and references, see S. Naccarati and H. E. Garrett, "The Relation of Morphology to Temperament," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 19, 1924, pp. 254-263.

<sup>2</sup>Léon MacAuliffe, *Les Tempéraments*, Paris, 1926.



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thorax and middle part of the face. The *digestive* type has predominance of the abdomen and lower part of the face. The *muscular* type has equal

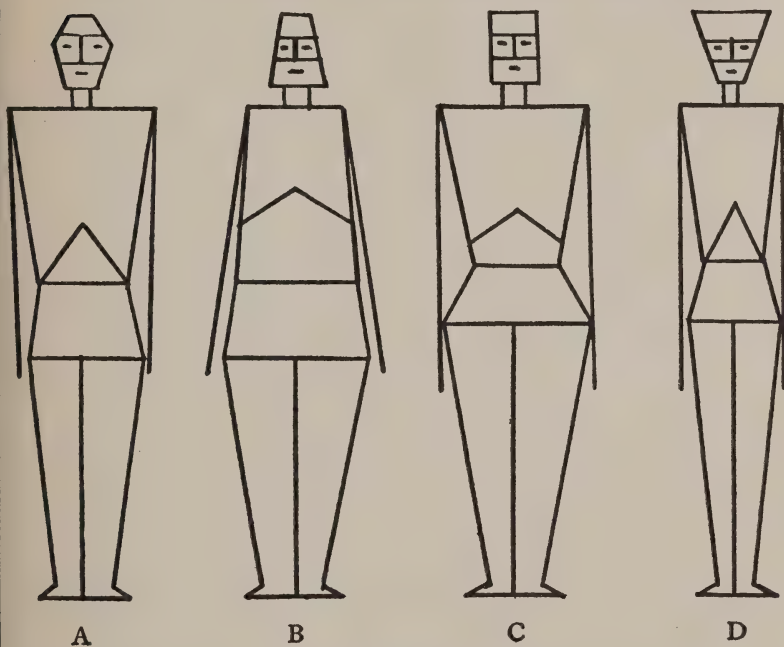


FIG. 3.

Diagram representing Sigaud's four physical types. A, respiratory; B, digestive; C, muscular; and D, cerebral. (From Mac-Auliffe, *Les Tempéraments*, Paris, 1926.)

development of thorax and abdomen, while the face has a somewhat square or rectangular appearance. Finally, the *cerebral* type has relative

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predominance of the head, which presents the appearance of an inverted triangle, while the legs and arms are small and spindling. These pure types are not so common as the mixed types, the cerebro-muscular, musculo-respiratory, digesto-respiratory, and so forth.

MacAuliffe has attempted an explanation of the types in biochemical and endocrinological terms. He emphasizes particularly the colloidal states of the organism and the affinity of the cells for water. From this point of view he distinguishes two types, the *round* and the *flat*. The cells of the former are extremely hydrophilic and the tissues are therefore filled with water, while the cells of the latter do not absorb much water and the figure therefore remains slight and elongated. The round type is slow in movement but dynamic and graceful, while the flat type is quick but angular and sometimes awkward.

In Germany the main contribution comes from Kretschmer. He has described four physical types of persons, namely, asthenic, athletic, pyknic, and dysplastic.<sup>3</sup> The *asthenics* are the slight, lanky persons, tall in comparison to their weight. The *athletics* correspond to the muscular type of Sigaud. They are heavily built and well developed with good bodily proportions. The *pyknics* are the

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<sup>3</sup>Ernst Kretschmer, *Physique and Character*, Kegan Paul, 1925.

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plump, thick-set people, relatively short for their weight like the digestive type of Sigaud. The *dysplastics* are other persons not classifiable into the first three categories and usually of asymmetrical or infantile proportions.

These types were first arrived at as a result of observation and measurement of patients in a mental hospital. Kretschmer compared the bodily types and the mental maladies of the patients and found that the asthenics were more liable to schizophrenia (*dementia præcox*) and the pyknics to the manic-depressive psychoses. These two morphological types present the most striking physical contrast, and they correspond closely to the flat and round types of MacAuliffe.

Kretschmer extended his studies to mentally healthy persons and found the same physical types and similar mental characteristics. He described two main types of temperament, the schizothymic and the cyclothymic. A schizothymic person exhibits in a minor degree the mental symptoms of schizophrenia. He has a tendency to become "shut-in," divorced from reality, preoccupied with the self and mentally dissociated. A cyclothymic person manifests to some extent the symptoms of the manic-depressive psychosis. He maintains his contact with reality, but alternates between exaltation and depression. The former temperament

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is according to Kretschmer usually associated with the asthenic physique, the latter with the pyknic.

Types have also been studied from a more purely physiological standpoint. In France MacAuliffe has centred his interest on the biochemical determination of body build, and the Italian morphologists have given some attention to the endocrinological factors in development, pointing out, for instance, that the microsplanchnic type corresponds to the hyperthyroid constitution. But by far the most enthusiastic exponent of glandular types is the American biochemist, Louis Berman. This author has given us a highly speculative but thoroughgoing account of the mental and physical traits associated with excessive and deficient activity of the various endocrine glands.<sup>4</sup> Some of the types thus differentiated are briefly described here by way of illustration.

The *thyroid centered* person has a "lean and hungry look." He is slight and lanky, like the asthenics and microsplanchnics, with a tendency to lose weight rapidly under stress. He has clean-cut features, thick hair often curly, bushy eyebrows, large keen eyes, and regular teeth. He is sexually well-differentiated and susceptible. Mentally he shows rapidity of perception, thought, and volition. He is emotional, impulsive and rest-

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<sup>4</sup>Louis Berman, *The Glands Regulating Personality*, Macmillan, 1921.

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less, always "on the go"; and in extreme cases he may be excitable, unstable, and subject to "brain storms."

The type due to *thyroid deficiency* is below average in height with a tendency to obesity. The complexion is sallow, the hair and eyebrows are scanty, the eyes deep-set and lustreless, and the teeth irregular and carious. The circulation is poor and the extremities cold and bluish. The intellect varies according to the compensatory activity of other glands, but it is often retarded as is development in general. Persons of this type are slow, dull, fatigable and lazy. A very marked thyroid deficiency in childhood results in cretinism, a form of mental and physical retardation, which may be corrected by the administration of thyroid extract.

The *adrenal* type has a pigmented skin and well developed canine teeth. The hair is thick, coarse, usually dark or red, and prominent on the chest, abdomen and back. People of this type are sanguine in temperament, virile, energetic fighters and good workers. On the other hand persons with adrenal insufficiency are neurasthenic, fatigable, and liable to chronic and obsessive indecision. They have low blood pressure and body temperature, cold hands and feet, and disturbed ability to assimilate and utilize sugar.



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Berman also describes several *pituitary* types, which depend upon the functioning of the anterior or posterior lobe of this gland as well as upon excess or deficiency. Two of these types merit mention, the masculine and the feminine pituitary types, which are related to activity of the anterior and posterior lobe of the gland respectively and may be found in both sexes. The types due to glandular insufficiency possess characteristics mainly the opposite of those described.

People of the masculine pituitary type are tall, muscular and well-proportioned, like the athletics of Kretschmer. The head is dolichocephalic (narrow in proportion to its length) and the face oval, the nose long and broadish, the lower jaw prominent and firm. The eyebrows are well-marked and the arms and legs hairy. The teeth are large and the bony points, cheek bones, knuckles and joints prominent. Mentally these people have good self-control and power over the environment. They are highly educable and creative; and include among their numbers many of the world's great thinkers.

Persons of the feminine pituitary type are slight in build and rather delicate with feminine structural lines and high pitched voices. The skin is soft, moist and hairless, the complexion creamy flushing easily, and the face doll-like. The eyes are

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large and prominent, and the teeth crowded. These people are fond of children, sentimental, and susceptible to tender emotions.

A number of *gonad* centered types are also described by Berman. An excess of gonadal secretion results in a turbulent, tempestuous life, a sexually sensitive temperament, and in extreme cases satyriasis or nymphomania. Gonadal deficiency produces undersexed or eunuchoid personalities, the feminoid male and the masculinoid female. These types are poorly differentiated sexually in physique. Their secondary sexual characteristics are relatively undeveloped. They are timid about sex matters and may be frankly homosexual; but they often rise above the normal in achievement, particularly in art and literature.

The *thymus* gland is a gland of childhood. It inhibits sexual development and therefore atrophies and disappears with the onset of adolescence. A persistent thymus results in an infantiloid physique due to the arrest of the process of masculinization or feminization. Persons of the persistent thymus type have a tendency to homosexuality and masochism. They are difficult to train in ordinary social customs and are usually misfits of society. If there is pituitary compensation, they may become eccentric geniuses of art or

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science. Thus, Berman diagnoses Oscar Wilde as a thymocentric type.

Berman emphasizes the importance of glandular interrelationships, and does not fail to point out that most persons are mixed types, dominated by a system or combination of endocrine glands, and that they sometimes change in accordance with variations in the secretory activity of the glands. Such changes occur normally with age and may also follow illness, stress, or shock. Thus we frequently observe that a slight, active, restless person has become fat, lazy and contented.

Eppinger and Hess have described two physiological types that are related to the functioning of the autonomic or vegetative nervous system.<sup>5</sup> This system consists of two antagonistically related parts, the sympathetic and the parasympathetic. The latter includes cranial and sacral divisions and its most important part is the vagus nerve. The types are determined by relative hyperactivity of one or the other of these two opposed systems, and have therefore been called *sympathicotonics* and *vagotonics*. The former are liable to high blood pressure, rapid heart, and inhibition of digestive functions. They are restless, hyperactive, and especially susceptible to fear and anger. The latter have slow pulse, con-

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<sup>5</sup>Eppinger and Hess, *Vagotonia*, tr. by Jelliffe and Kraus, *Nervous and Mental Disease Mon. series*, no. 20.

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tracted pupils, and facilitation of digestive processes. They are quiet, contented, and fond of ease and physical comfort.

Kempf has further pointed out that the normal balance of autonomic functions may be disturbed in any viscus or segment.<sup>6</sup> This results in what he calls a "segmental craving," which is a feeling of tension or restlessness in a particular viscus. These autonomic disturbances react upon the central nervous system, causing it continually to readjust its receptors until stimuli are found which allay the distress. For example, hunger is a segmental craving which causes activity until food is found and ingested. The liability to particular segmental tensions varies from person to person and may be the basis of differences in temperament and in behavior.

Racial as well as individual differences in physical traits have been studied. Detailed comparison of the anthropometric measurements of races has revealed some specific differences; and ordinary observation has noted general differences in physique, although much overlapping undoubtedly occurs. This is a subject which merits further study. Some of the differences may be endocrinologically determined. For instance, it has been

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<sup>6</sup>E. J. Kempf, *The Autonomic Functions and the Personality*, Nervous and Mental Disease Mon. series, no. 28, 1921.

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suggested that pituitary activity is dominant in the European, adrenal in the Negro, and thyroid in the Mongolian races. There are of course important mental differences among races, but these are no doubt determined more by tradition and custom than by endocrinological factors or bodily structure.

The various physical types described cannot be regarded as separate and distinct from each other. There are no such things as types in this sense. The types are merely extreme deviations of one sort or another from the central tendency of human beings. In other words, there is only one type, which is medium in all traits, a mixed type; but there are numerous deviations in kind and degree from this norm or standard. These deviations can be combined in an infinite variety of ways, and people are therefore seldom or never wholly alike.

### *Correlation of Mental and Physical Traits*

It is commonly assumed that outward appearance is an indication of the inner natures of men. This assumption cannot stand the test of critical examination without considerable elaboration and modification. In the first place it makes a great deal of difference whether the physical signs from



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which the mental traits are inferred are anatomical characteristics or behavior responses; and then it is important to know whether the inference is based upon measurements of mental and physical traits and established correlations or upon popular notions and mere traditional opinions.

There is no empirical evidence to show that specific *anatomical characteristics*, other than general physique, have any fixed relation to traits of intellect, temperament or character. In order to prove such a relationship the following procedure would be necessary: (1) Measurement of the anatomical trait in question, shape of nose, mouth, chin, dimensions of hand, size of head, and the like. This is a tedious and difficult task, but satisfactory techniques exist or could be devised for exact appraisal of most of the physical features or signs popularly regarded as important. (2) Measurement of mental traits and processes. This can be done roughly for certain intellectual abilities, but it is practically impossible for most traits of temperament and character. It is therefore customary to use personal estimates instead of exact measurements. But the opinions of friends are affected by prejudice, and are often based upon fallacious inferences from the very physical signs which are under investigation. (3) Calculation of coefficients of correlation between these

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physical and mental measurements, made upon a sufficiently large number of persons. This has been done for only a few easily measured traits, like size of head and intellectual ability; and where it has been done the correlations found are negligible.

There is likewise no *a priori* or theoretical reason for believing in the correlation of mental traits and the physical signs under discussion. We are therefore led to the conclusion that the "bumps" and general topography of the head, the features of the face, the shape and "lines" of the hand signify nothing about the psychological personality. Phrenology, physiognomy, and palmistry are pseudosciences, and belong with astrology and alchemy only to the past or to the "intellectual underworld" of the present. Thus it is necessary to renounce some of our popular delusions. A large head does not necessarily imply intellectual ability, nor a narrow head timidity. A Roman nose does not mean a domineering nature. A receding chin does not indicate weakness of character. A large mouth does not necessarily imply generosity or even sensuousness. And long fingers do not indicate an artistic temperament, though they may lead to greater facility in the acquisition of skill in art or in picking pockets.

A correlation between *general physique* and

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certain aspects of mind is more probable. There is no doubt that morphological type is determined in part by endocrinological or more broadly biochemical causes; and it is reasonable to suppose that some traits of personality, particularly of temperament, are conditioned by the same factors. Thus theoretical considerations indicate the plausibility of such a correlation, and empirical evidence seems to point in the same direction. The exact nature of the relationship, however, remains to be established, although the studies of Kretschmer, Berman and others have afforded suggestive leads.

Inferences from *behavior responses* regarding mental personality are on a sounder basis. Physical signs of this functional kind include bearing, gait, gestures, mannerisms, facial expression, vocal quality and accent, and handwriting, as well as other forms of social and personal behavior. These responses are regarded by behaviorists as identical with personality; but from our standpoint they are merely motor aspects of a more comprehensive personality embracing also cognitive, affective and conative aspects. They may sometimes be overt expressions or manifestations of these covert aspects; for all behavior is consequent upon neural activity, and mind is conditioned by or identical with this same neural activ-

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ity. Thus there are good theoretical grounds for belief in the correlation of behavior signs and mental traits. We need only further evidence regarding the details of the relationship.

The physical attitude, bearing and gait are certainly indicative of self-assurance or lack of confidence. A "hang-dog" appearance bespeaks a feeling of humility and inferiority. The facial expression betrays the cynic and reveals the happy lover of life. The mouth and eyes tell their tale of joy or grief, love or hate, in their subtle movements and varying tensions. Gestures and mannerisms have their own meanings as condensed symbols or residua of life's experience. The voice reveals in both inflexion and diction the cultural background of the speaker. The clothing and grooming likewise indicate the artistic appreciation, the tidiness or slovenliness of the wearer.

But the handwriting occupies a unique position. It is a product of movements slowly acquired, systematically organized and practiced during a life time; and it also leaves a permanent record for scientific study and measurement. Graphology has until recently been regarded by scientists as a pseudoscience, because it was based mainly upon traditional intuitive methods. It is now being placed upon a firmer foundation mainly through the work of Robert Saudek, who measures the

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writing features, size, angle and other less obvious peculiarities, performs experiments on writing under different conditions, and in general uses scientific methods in his investigations.<sup>7</sup> Some day we may know the exact significance of the various graphic details, such as slope, spacing, formation of individual letters, initial adjustments, and final flourishes; and the expert will no doubt be able to obtain much accurate information about a person from his handwriting.

### *Personality and the Nervous System*

The real physical correlate of the psychological personality is the nervous system, which is normally concealed from observation and hence affords no direct basis for the "reading of character" from external signs. Activity in the nervous system is, however, the immediate antecedent of behavior, which is identical with or expressive of personality and provides an external cue to the understanding of human nature. Neural activity is at the same time a necessary condition for consciousness and all mental processes. The exact nature of the relationship between brain function and mind is unknown and therefore a matter of opinion and controversy. One of the most satis-

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<sup>7</sup>Robert Saudek, "Writing Movements as Indications of the Writer's Social Behavior," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 2, 1931, pp. 337-373. Also *Experiments with Handwriting*, Morrow, 1929.



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factory hypotheses is that these two apparently different processes are the same. Consciousness is identical with complex integrated neural activity, and appears in phylogenesis and ontogenesis when the brain attains a certain degree of complexity and organization.

The development of personality, whether regarded objectively or subjectively, is from this point of view the development of the nervous system. The components of personality are simple neural patterns and processes. The organization of personality is the integration of these simple patterns into more and more complex systems. The hierarchy of sentiments and purposes is a hierarchy of neural systems. Drives and motives are forms of neural energy activating specific systems and spreading through certain pathways. Feelings are probably determined by neural facilitation and inhibition. And emotions may be related to the lower brain centers and autonomic functions.

Thus, the nervous system is the center and basis of personality, but unfortunately little is known of its function though its structure has been well described. We may study personality objectively through behavior caused by neural activity, or subjectively through mental processes conditioned by this activity, and in both cases we are really in

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a sense studying indirectly the functions, processes, integrations, and dissociations of the nervous system. But we may of course pursue our study of mind and behavior without making any reference to the neural activity essential to both.

It now becomes clearer why behavior responses are, as "external signs," more significant for "character analysis" than anatomical features. The former are determined by neural activity, while the latter have no obvious relation to the nervous system. On the other hand it is possible that certain anatomical details as well as general physique may be endocrinologically determined. Internal secretion also indirectly affects the nervous system, both autonomic and cerebro-spinal. Hence, from this point of view a relationship between anatomical features and mental processes is conceivable, but empirical evidence is nevertheless lacking.

## CHAPTER IV

### Intellect

**I**NTELLECT has been more thoroughly and systematically studied than the other aspects of the psychological personality, a fact which is due partly to the relative ease of its investigation and partly to erroneous ideas of its importance. If man is a rational animal, reason demands first attention. But it is now generally recognized that man is primarily a creature of feeling and impulse, and intellect must therefore take its place as co-ordinate with temperament and character in human psychology.

Intellect is the cognitive aspect of the personality. Cognition includes all the mental processes that have to do with knowing, such as perception, memory, imagination, thought, and reasoning. Intellect may thus be defined as total cognitive constitution or "make-up," the sum of perceptions and ideas and their organization. This constitution is a product of original capacities and environmental conditions; and these two influences cannot be separated, nor their relative importance determined. Some of the main factors and proc-

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esses that enter into intellect are indicated and described below.

### *Sensory Capacities*

John Locke's well-known dictum, "There is nothing in the intellect which was not previously in the senses," calls attention to the fundamental importance of the capacity for sensation in the achievement of intellect. This capacity sets a definite limit to knowledge, and determines the number and nature of perceptions and ideas; for even creative thinking requires a sensory content in the beginning. Creative thinking however involves a "combinative activity," which is also an important capacity in the development of intellect.

The exact number of sense organs or receptors is unknown, but there are certainly more than the traditional five. The sense organs are sometimes classified into exteroceptors, interoceptors, and proprioceptors. The *exteroceptors* are receptors which are excited by stimuli outside the body. The more important are the eyes, the auditory receptors of the ears, the organs of taste and smell, and the cutaneous senses of pressure, pain and temperature. These organs function in the adjustment of the organism to external conditions and in the acquisition of knowledge of the ex-

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ternal world. They are therefore of basic importance for intellectual development.

The *interoceptors* are sense organs which are excited by stimuli arising within the organism, chiefly in the viscera. Some of them are the senses of hunger, thirst and visceral pain, and the organs giving rise to respiratory, circulatory, sexual, and various obscure organic sensations. These receptors function in the mutual interrelations of the organs and in the internal adjustments of the organism. They are supposed to play some rôle in affective experience and are perhaps more important for temperament than for intellect.

The *proprioceptors* are sense organs which are stimulated by the movement and position of the whole body or its parts. To this group belong the kinesthetic senses of the muscles, tendons and joints, and the senses of the semicircular canals and vestibule of the internal ear. These organs do not function in the initiation of responses but rather in the regulation of movements already begun, in the co-ordination of movements, and in the maintenance of bodily equilibrium. Thus they are probably of more significance in the growth of character than of intellect.

Each sense organ plays a part in the development of the total personality, a part which cannot be separately evaluated. The exteroceptors as a



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group are no doubt of major importance for intellect, but the proprioceptors and interoceptors contribute to the consciousness of personal unity and identity, since they provide a relatively permanent background for the kaleidoscopic panorama of consciousness.

The capacities of the sense organs may be considered under two headings, namely, acuity and discrimination. Sensory *acuity* is capacity to experience sensations as a result of weak stimuli. It thus means keenness of vision, sharpness of hearing, and the like. It varies with different persons and with different senses. For example, some persons are very sensitive to temperature changes, some to light or sound, others to taste or smell, and still others to movement.

It seems probable that sensory acuity is an original endowment and cannot be changed by experience. In other words training does not affect sensory acuity but rather the central elaboration of the impressions. This may be illustrated by the well-known case of Helen Keller who in spite of being blind and deaf has achieved great success in life by utilizing the other senses, particularly those of touch and smell. It has been found, however, that these other senses are in her case really no more acute or sensitive than those of the average person. Her success is rather

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due to the fact that she has learned to attend to tactual impressions and odors and has built up numerous associations with these perceptions. The senses themselves have not become more acute with practice, but their central neural connections have become greatly elaborated.

Sensory *discrimination* is ability to distinguish between sensations that are nearly alike in quality or intensity, for example, tones of different pitch, grays of different shade, colors of different hue or lights of different intensity. Individual differences in this capacity are also great. For instance, some persons can distinguish tones that differ in pitch by only one-third of a vibration per second, while others can scarcely distinguish tones differing by twenty to thirty vibrations. Less marked differences are found in the discrimination of other sensory qualities and intensities. The capacity for sensory discrimination is no doubt based mainly upon the original sensory equipment, but it also involves central associative processes, and there is considerable evidence that it improves with practice.

Individual differences in the sensory capacities may be of considerable importance in determining differences in views, interests and attitudes. An inferior or defective sense organ is a handicap

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which may prevent proper development, or lead to some form of overcompensation; while a superior sense organ may help to determine not only a special interest but even some more general trend of intellect or total personality. The sensory basis for such special interests or occupations as music, painting, dancing, and wine-tasting is fairly obvious; but the sensory determinants of more general attitudes and trends are not so easily recognized.

Nevertheless, it is quite possible that the trends commonly designated extraversion and introversion are in part sensuously determined. Extraversion, the direction of attention towards the external world, may be determined by unusual predominance of the exteroceptors, particularly the so-called distance receptors of vision, hearing, smell and temperature; while introversion, preoccupation with subjective reality, may be determined by a relatively greater importance of the interoceptors and proprioceptors. Thus a partial explanation is suggested of the sensation extravert and the sensation introvert described by Jung, and also perhaps of the behavioristic and introspectionistic attitudes in psychology. But these different directions of interest and attention are no doubt mainly determined by experience and training.

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### *Cognitive Intelligence*

Another capacity essential for the development of intellect is cognitive intelligence. This is the capacity to acquire perceptions and ideas, and to make new ideational combinations. It is the kind of intelligence necessary for progress in school, for academic achievement and for creative thinking. But it must be distinguished from information, knowledge and intellect. These are the result not only of intelligence but also of opportunity and drive, factors which have not been sufficiently emphasized in the psychology of intellectual achievement. Without opportunity intelligence could not function, and without drive a person would neither use his intelligence nor take advantage of his opportunities. Cognitive intelligence includes also the capacity to associate ideas with affects and impulses in the development of the total personality. Thus our actions and feelings become conditioned to our thoughts, and all are combined in our sentiments, interests and purposes.

Cognitive intelligence is no doubt mainly inherited. It depends upon an innate characteristic of the nervous system. But it is also determined in part by environmental conditions which affect bodily functions, general health and nutrition. Persons differ enormously in this capacity and may

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be arranged roughly on a scale. At the lower end is the idiot who can acquire only the simplest ideas, then in succession the imbecile, the moron, the person of average ability, the supernormal, and at the upper end the genius. The degree of intelligence is of course inferred from manifested knowledge and ability. It is practically impossible to measure intelligence directly. The so-called intelligence tests are really tests of intellectual or cultural status. They measure information or knowledge rather than the capacity to acquire it.

### *Memory*

The capacity to learn involves certain processes of memory. Ideas could not be acquired at all without some power of retention. But memory is more complex than the capacity to learn. It consists of a group of mental processes, the most important of which are impression, conservation, reproduction and recognition.

The formation of an *impression* depends mainly upon sensory capacities and intelligence. Neurally, it is the acquisition of certain traces, probably new bonds among neurons. *Conservation* is the continued persistence of the impressions, the retention of the neural traces or patterns. *Reproduction* or recall is the reinstatement of the conserved idea in consciousness, the reactivation of the



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neural patterns. *Recognition* is the "knowing again" of an idea or event as an occurrence in one's own past life. It depends upon associations of time and place and a "feeling of familiarity." If the latter occurs without the former, recognition is indefinite, as when a person seems familiar but cannot be definitely placed in the past.

Memory is of quite fundamental importance in intellect and in the total personality. Without memory there could be no perception, no sentiments, no thought, no knowledge, and no awareness of personal identity from one moment to another. Breadth of intellect depends mainly upon memory, for breadth means extensive information and knowledge, a multiplicity of ideas well-retained and easily recalled. The narrow intellect has few ideas, although the ones possessed may be well remembered. Great story-tellers and writers of fiction, like Scott and Balzac, are usually gifted with prodigious memories as well as superior ability in the organization of their ideas.

Inferiority in any process of memory manifests itself in the general intellect. Poor capacity for formation of impressions means inferior intelligence and therefore feebleness of intellect as mentioned in the previous section. Poor conservation implies rapid fading of impressions and consequent dearth of ideas. This may be illustrated

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by the senile intellect. But in old age, although recent impressions are quickly forgotten, more remote events may be well conserved.

The capacity to form impressions and retain them may be normal but the ability to recall them inferior. This kind of forgetting is called reproductive *amnesia*, and is probably due to neural dissociation. It is common in daily life and is found in exaggerated form in hysteria. It results in what may be called a hysterical intellect, which is spasmodic and uncertain, sometimes full of brilliant ideas, sometimes dull and uninteresting. Reproductive amnesia occurs in its most extreme form as dissociated and multiple personality. But the ordinary forgetful person is also inferior in recall rather than retention. He may have acquired much knowledge or information, but he is frequently unable to avail himself of it. He forgets well-known facts, often just when he wishes most to remember them.

In inferior recognition there may be poor associations of time and place or lack of the feeling of familiarity. In the former case a person will always be finding things and people vaguely familiar, but he will be unable to place them definitely. In the latter, he will experience things as strange and unreal. Such feelings of unreality

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occur in psychasthenia and are common in states of fatigue and drowsiness.

People differ in their memories for different things, such as names, numbers, scenes, and faces. Hence different intellects have different contents. A distinction of special importance is that between logical and rote memory. A person may remember mainly logical relations and abstract concepts, or mainly facts and concrete details. In conversation the former is likely to be concise but vague and full of empty generalities, while the latter is exact but often tedious and irrelevant.

Memory frequently plays us false. Everyone remembers things that never occurred, but some are more prone to this anomaly than others. The error consists in referring to one's own past life ideas taken from stories or fabricated in the imagination from elements of former experience. Phantasy is confused with reality, but there is no intentional distortion of facts as in prevarication. Persons subject to false memories make poor legal witnesses and are too inaccurate for scientific research, but they are imaginative story-tellers and entertaining conversationalists.

### *Perception and Attention*

As a result of sensory capacity, intelligence and memory, we learn to perceive definite objects and

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relations in time and space. Perceptions bear the same relation to sensory capacities as habits bear to motor capacities; and, like habits, they become more and more complex and differentiated with experience and training. People, therefore, differ as much in perception as in habit. First, they differ in what is perceived and attended to. In the same situation they observe different things in conformity with their background of experience. Secondly, they differ in the degree of development of perception, which may be vague and undifferentiated, or clear, detailed and meaningful. Most persons have superperception for some things and poor perception for others. A few have imperception, that is, stimuli are sensed but given little or no meaning, as in so-called mental deafness in which spoken words are heard merely as sounds without sense. Thirdly, people differ in the accuracy of perception, some being subject to illusions and hallucinations, in which perceptions do not conform to reality as experienced by other persons or through the other senses. Finally, they differ in the relative importance of outer and inner factors. Perception may be determined mainly from without by the stimulus, or mainly from within by images and ideas. In other words, persons may be extraverts or introverts in perception.

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The individual differences in attention are closely related to those in perception. The span of attention may be wide or narrow. A person can perceive and attend to a number of things at once or only one or two. The duration and degree of attention also vary. A person may be distractible, passing readily and rapidly from one thing to another, or persistent, concentrating intensely on one subject for a long period of time. This trait will be referred to again in the chapter on character. There are also differences in the direction of attention, and it is of special interest whether attention is directed mainly upon external objects or upon images and ideas, that is, whether attention is extraverted or introverted.

### *Images and Ideas*

Images are mental pictures or reproductions of perceptions. Hence, there are as many kinds of images as of sense organs, but the most common are visual, auditory, and kinesthetic or motor. People have been classified in accordance with their predominant imagery into three imaginal types, visiles, audiles, and motiles; but as a matter of fact, visual imagery predominates in most persons, auditory or kinesthetic comes second, and the other forms are of less importance. All persons have all kinds of imagery, but they differ in



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the proportion of the various kinds; and this determines in part the nature of their interests, abilities and modes of thought.

Individual differences in vividness of imagery are of special interest. For instance, some people can reproduce in imagination a whole musical melody after hearing it only once, while others can scarcely imagine a simple auditory experience like the tinkling of a bell. Some can see things in the mind's eye almost as clearly as they perceive them, others can visualize only vaguely. Very vivid visual imagery approximating after-images or hallucinations has been called *eidetic imagery*. Jaensch has described two types of people in accordance with the nature of their eidetic imagery, namely, the tetanoid or "T" type and the Basedowoid or "B" type.<sup>1</sup> In the former the eidetic images resemble visual after-images, in the latter memory images. Jaensch believes that certain physical and mental characteristics are associated with the eidetic imagery and this view is implied in the names given to the types; but the theory needs further corroboration.

Ideas are distinguished from images by their greater complexity and meaning. They are the product of experience and of creative thought.

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<sup>1</sup>E. R. Jaensch, *Eidetic Imagery and Typological Methods of Investigation*, Kegan Paul, 1930.

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People differ in the number they possess, from the paucity of ideas of the ignoramus and the imbecile to the multiplicity of the versatile and widely informed man. They also differ in the nature of their ideas in conformity with their training and experience.

Another matter of considerable interest is the way in which ideas follow each other in thinking and in conversation. The *sequence of ideas* is determined by associative connections and by the presence and persistence of a "goal idea" as a guide to thought. There are individual differences in the rate of sequence, which can be measured roughly by the association test. Sometimes thinking is greatly retarded; and in abnormal cases there may be actual absence of sequence, that is inhibition of the associative process and perseveration of a single idea. Then the mind continually reverts to the same theme, which becomes a fixed or obsessing idea.

On the other hand, the meanderings of mind may not be checked by a dominant goal idea. Thought then moves in accordance with free and superficial associations. There is "flight of ideas," a continual changing of topics without logical sequence, as in table talk and light conversation. This must of course be distinguished from incoherence, in which ideas are dissociated and the

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mind jumps from one topic to another without even the appearance of associative connection. It must also be distinguished from circumstantiality, which is the sequence of thought of the senile and garrulous. There is a goal idea in conversation but the speaker moves towards it by a circuitous route, dwelling on numerous irrelevant details. All ideas have the same value and there is no sense of proportion.

Thus, the sequence of ideas, as manifested in speech, is a striking and socially significant aspect of intellect. The scientific thinker, who is dominated by a goal idea and persistently directs his thought towards an end, is often tedious and boring on social occasions; while the social butterfly, who flits smoothly and rapidly from topic to topic in compliance with fortuitous associative currents, is always a charming entertainer, but may seem empty headed and superficial to the serious student who carries his work or his mission to the dining table and the drawing room.

### *Imagination and Thought*

There is no clear distinction between imagination and thought, and they are inextricably interwoven in the mental activity of daily life. Imagination approximates undirected thinking. It is closely related to the affects and impulses, is usually

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unconsciously determined, and is generally of a wish-fulfilling nature. It occurs in typical form in day dreams and in the castle-building phantasies of adolescence; but it is also intermingled in varying degrees with the process of rational thought. Thus, the thinking of the poet, the artist or the visionary is largely imbued with imaginative components.

Thought refers more strictly to reality and is consciously directed towards some goal. It includes judgment and reasoning. *Judgment* means the selection of appropriate ideas from the conflicting associations relating to a practical problem or a theoretical question. This ability is determined by experience, knowledge and emotional emancipation, and consequently differs markedly from person to person. Both poor judgment and good judgment are, however, usually specific, pertaining to some special topic or universe of discourse. Good judgment in general is impossible, because complete knowledge and absolute freedom from emotional bias can not be achieved. Poor judgment in general may be found in childhood and in the feeble-minded. False judgment is due to lack of knowledge or to emotional prejudice. Such prejudice may occur even among persons of high intellectual attainment, and accounts

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for the phantastic or fanatical views frequently expressed by eminent men.

People differ in the speed of theoretical and practical judgment. Some find it difficult to form judgments and come to decisions. This may be due to mental conflict or to wide knowledge. A person whose feelings are in opposition and whose wants are antagonistic finds it difficult to make up his mind; and a person who by dint of superior knowledge sees all sides of a question is more likely to be undecided than one whose information and interests are more restricted. Thus, the successful practical man is seldom scholarly or widely-informed.

*Reasoning* is essentially a series of judgments. It may be logical, conforming to the conventions of formal logic and mathematics; or practical, consisting of a sequence of imaginative trial solutions of a problem. It may be deductive, moving from the general to the particular; or inductive, moving from fact to theory. It may be theoretical, concerned with explanations and hypotheses; or empirical, devoted to the solution of practical problems. These different trends in reasoning leave their stamp upon the intellect of different persons and give it a peculiar bent.

Sometimes reason is used for the purpose of concealing motives for conduct or belief. It is



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then called *rationalization*. Nearly everybody rationalizes about some things, their peculiar beliefs or eccentric behavior; but some are more liable to this form of self-deception than others. Rationalization is the outcome of emotionally toned drives and lack of self-knowledge. It comes to the defense of all beliefs and behavior which are motivated by drives not acceptable to the ego or conscious self; and it is exhibited in exaggerated form by paranoiacs and religious or political fanatics.

An interesting distinction has been made regarding the orientation of thought between *extraverted* and *introverted thinking*. The former is conditioned chiefly by objective data, and directed towards external reality. The latter is mainly subjectively determined and directed towards the elaboration of ideas. Persons extraverted in thought are realists and empiricists, interested in the collection of facts and in applied science. The thinking introverts on the other hand are idealists, usually interested in the formulation of hypotheses and in science for its own sake.

Otto Gross's distinction between the primary and secondary functions of the cerebral cortex has also a bearing upon the psychology of thought and intellect.<sup>2</sup> The *primary function* is the initial

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<sup>2</sup>See C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types*, pp. 337-357.

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brain process which conditions attentive consciousness; while the *secondary function* is a neural after effect, which has no conscious correlate but nevertheless determines the course of subsequent associative processes. Persons differ in the relative importance of these two functions. If the primary function is dominant, consciousness will be broad but shallow; while, if the secondary is dominant, it will be narrow but deep or concentrated. In the former case the person will be adaptable but superficial, passing readily from one topic to another; in the latter he will be persistent, following a train of thought to its logical conclusion. Gross's distinction affords a possible neurological explanation for some of the differences in intellect described in this chapter.

### *Organization of Ideas*

Some of the topics already discussed imply organization of ideas. Each aspect of intellect, as indeed of the total personality, overlaps and involves the others. Ideas become readily associated with each other to form groups or constellations, and they are connected with affects and impulses to form sentiments and complexes. Simple constellations of ideas are further integrated into more elaborate systems. Thus information is acquired and organized into special knowledge, such

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as chemistry, biology, or history. These systems of knowledge may be further integrated and organized into a still more comprehensive hierarchy which may constitute a scientific world view. Such an outcome involves the solution of logical conflicts and incompatibilities and means that different systems of knowledge are not kept in water-tight compartments of the mind.

Organization of ideas is an achievement which depends upon both hereditary and environmental influences. It is impossible without intelligence, that is the capacity to acquire and combine ideas; but it is likewise impossible without experience, particularly opportunities for education. Furthermore, it depends upon certain fundamental drives which provide the motives for learning and for productive scholarship.

People differ greatly in the degree of organization of ideas as well as in the number of ideas acquired. In accordance with the generally accepted theory of the distribution of ability most persons possess a medium number of ideas partly and loosely organized. But four limiting types of intellect may be described: (a) The narrow, poorly organized intellect of stupid and feeble-minded persons, who have only few ideas without associative inter-connections. (b) The narrow, well organized intellect of persons living in restricted

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environments without opportunity for wide experience or education. These persons have a paucity of ideas which may nevertheless be so stably organized that new views cannot penetrate the system. (c) The broad, poorly organized intellect of the empiricist and collector of facts, who has a wealth of unrelated information without theoretical elaboration or unifying principle. And (d) the broad, well organized intellect of the savant, philosopher and creative thinker, who has extensive knowledge interrelated and possibly merged into a complete world view.

Some pathological cases may be understood from the point of view of organization of ideas. Thus, in dementia the system disintegrates, the ideas become dissociated, and there is a consequent deterioration of intellect and loss of mental grasp. In paranoia on the other hand there are only few facts and wrong facts to begin with, but there is an elaborate top-heavy organization. A world view may be evolved from entirely inadequate data. For instance, one paranoiac evolved a system of physiology, character analysis, and philosophy from the markings on the finger nails; and another attempted to show that ethics, philosophy and even mathematics could be deduced from one maxim, namely, "mates must love each other unselfishly." \*

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### *Relation of Ideas to Affects and Impulses*

Ideas may become associated with each other, with affects, and with impulses. If they are associated mainly with each other, ideas lead to other ideas rather than to feelings or actions and the consequent ideational elaboration stamps the "man of thought." But ideas also become associated with feelings and emotions. Then thoughts lead to affective responses, and the affects have ideational reverberations. A considerable development of such interconnections marks the man of poetic imagination and artistic appreciation.

Ideas are likewise associated with impulses and actions. On the one hand drives arouse ideas and stimulate thought, as in the practical man of affairs and the applied scientist, who quickly find the means of achieving each desired end; and on the other hand ideas lead to impulses and actions, which are therefore called *ideo-motor* actions. An elaboration of associations of this sort characterizes the "man of action," for whom every idea is a stimulus to impulse and overt response. Ideas, impulses and affects are all intimately associated in the development of sentiments, interests and purposes.



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### *Consciousness of Cognitive Processes*

People differ in the degree to which they are conscious of the processes of perception and ideation. These processes may be partly or wholly outside of personal awareness; but this fact does not imply the existence of an unconscious mind. The unconscious processes are more likely purely neurological. Impressions can be registered through the sense organs upon the nervous system without conscious perception, ideas can be conserved as neural traces and neural patterns, and thought can go on as cortical activity in the absence of consciousness.

Unconscious perceptions are usually called *subliminal impressions*. They are quite common occurrences. We are always reacting to stimuli without being aware of them. But sometimes complicated objects and situations unobserved at the time nevertheless leave an impression which may enter consciousness at a later date. We then feel a thrill of mystery and supernatural power in knowing about something we never perceived. For instance, a person has a "hunch" that a friend is ill, but it is really based on the unconscious impression made by minor symptoms at the last meeting or in the last letter. Unconscious perception is one important factor in intuition, another

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being the affective determination of ideas. It exists to a high degree in certain so-called intuitive people.

Ideas are conserved unconsciously as neural traces or neurograms. Some of them can easily become conscious again, while others can be recalled only with difficulty or not at all, as in reproductive amnesia, described in the section on memory. Whole *constellations* of ideas, and ideas associated with affects and impulses, that is complexes, may in this way exist unconsciously. The *process of ideation*, or association and combination of ideas, may also go on outside of consciousness, probably as the connection and organization of neural patterns and systems. The end product may then be expressed as a novel creation. Thus, we have unconscious solution of mathematical problems or unconscious literary composition.

The final result of unconscious ideation may be expressed unconsciously in a somnambulist state, as when one gets up in his sleep and writes letters or poetry. It may be expressed semi-consciously as in automatic writing and in mediumship. Or it may burst into consciousness as a brilliant inspiration and be expressed in ordinary conscious speech or writing. Persons differ greatly in the nature and extent of their unconscious ideation and ex-

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pression. The inspired man, like the medium and the clairvoyant, utilizes his unconscious processes and may even believe in the supernatural origin of his ideas; while the commonplace person or the empirical scientist may be painfully aware of every mental process but therefore less liable to such mystical delusions.

## CHAPTER V

### Temperament

TEMPERAMENT is another phase or aspect of personality. It is not independent of intellect and character, but can nevertheless be distinguished from them. It must be so distinguished in a scientific account, for one can not describe the whole personality at once. In this chapter the intimate interrelations of temperamental factors with other aspects of personality will be very largely disregarded. The object is to define temperament and indicate some of its components, which may be regarded as distinguishable aspects requiring separate evaluation in a rating scale or in any attempt to estimate a person's temperamental characteristics.

Temperament may be provisionally defined as total affective constitution or predisposition in regard to feeling and emotion. The terms constitution and predisposition are not intended to imply that temperament is due to original nature or heredity. They refer merely to the "make-up" and propensity at any given time, and these may be grounded as much in nurture as in nature. It is

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futile to attempt to estimate the respective contributions of inheritance and environment to the various aspects of temperament. The following analysis is therefore undertaken from a purely phenomenological and descriptive standpoint without etiological implications or presuppositions. A number of affective variables are described, but it must be understood that these are closely related among themselves and with other aspects of the total personality.

### *Affective Quality*

This refers to the predominant quality and degree of feeling. A person's feelings may be usually pleasant or unpleasant, and they may ordinarily occur with a certain degree of intensity. This aspect of temperament is frequently mentioned throughout the history of the subject and is described by such outstanding authorities as Herbart and Meumann. The idea is that each person can be placed somewhere on a scale of feeling, which runs from extreme unpleasantness through indifference to extreme pleasantness, somewhat as follows:

|                |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |               |
|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
|                | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |               |
| unpleasantness |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | pleasantness. |

In the depressed phase of the manic-depressive psychosis the patient would be placed at the ex-



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treme left or unpleasant end of the scale, while in the exalted or euphoric phase he would be at the extreme right. Other persons fall somewhere between these two extremes, the optimistic and sanguine on the right, the pessimistic and melancholic on the left and the chronically indifferent in the center. Most persons would be found to fluctuate in their position on the scale, and some would change from right to left of the zero point in conformity with their blue and their rosy moods. The affective quality would no doubt be found to vary with the general state of health and the amount of fatigue. It would also be influenced by certain drugs. For instance, alcohol would usually swing the subject's position on the scale towards the right.

### *Prescription of Emotions*

Emotions are, subjectively, excited or "stirred-up" states of mind and, objectively, visceral reaction patterns. The original emotion of infancy is probably an undifferentiated excitement correlated with diffuse visceral and glandular activity. Other emotions evolve gradually in ontogenetic development as the organic responses become conditioned, differentiated and combined into more and more varied and clear-cut patterns.<sup>1</sup> Hence

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<sup>1</sup>For formulation of this view, see K. M. B. Bridges, *The Social and Emotional Development of the Preschool Child*, Kegan Paul, 1931, pp. 198-211.

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people differ in the exact nature of their specific emotions and in the stage of their emotional development. The degree of differentiation depends partly upon experience and partly upon affective intelligence.

Temperament depends upon the number, nature and relative intensity of the emotions. But this aspect of temperament is not necessarily due to original nature, for emotions or emotional patterns are acquired as a result of experience; nor is it to be identified in any way with the prescription of drives, which is rather a matter of character. It refers to the general susceptibility to emotional response and to the predominance of some particular kind of emotion.

Thus, general deficiency of emotion characterizes a phlegmatic temperament, while marked general susceptibility is found in an excitable person. Fear predominates in the timid temperament, anger in the choleric or irritable, elation in the sanguine, subjection in the melancholic, sex emotion in the amorous, and parental emotion in the tender or affectionate temperament. If two or more emotions are about equal in strength the result may be a compromise, a combination, or an alternation of moods. The predominant emotion may vary from time to time in conformity with physiological conditions and social circumstances.

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Thus strength and success produce elation, while helplessness and failure breed fear and anger. Alcohol inhibits the habitual emotional controls, and may reveal the "prescription of emotions" to better advantage.

### *Affective Sensitivity*

The stimulability or ease of arousal of affective responses is an interesting aspect of temperament. This sensitivity has nothing to do with the acuity of sense organs. It means the readiness and liability to respond to a situation with feelings or emotions. Thus the sensitive person is not one who perceives more quickly or clearly, but one who reacts affectively to the percept.

People differ enormously in this respect. Some go through the most trying circumstances with affective indifference. They experience only cognition and impulse. Others are continually expressing the most violent likes, dislikes, fears, or disgusts even in apparently neutral situations. This ready responsiveness, with its consequent liability to change, is a factor of considerable importance in emotional instability and excitability. It is corrected in part by the organization of the affects and their integration with ideas and drives in the formation of sentiments.

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### *Speed of Affective Reaction*

Popularly the distinction is often made between the quick and slow to anger, and it can be made equally well for other emotions and feelings. Speed has been mentioned in the analysis of temperament perhaps more frequently than any other factor. Wundt, for example, held that temperament was a matter of speed and strength of reaction, and he made an analysis of the four traditional temperaments from this point of view. His analysis may be summed up as follows:

|       |                    |                   |
|-------|--------------------|-------------------|
|       | STRONG             | WEAK              |
| QUICK | <i>choleric</i>    | <i>sanguine</i>   |
| SLOW  | <i>melancholic</i> | <i>phlegmatic</i> |

Previous writers have not, however, distinguished between the affective, the conative and the cognitive response to a situation. The ordinary reaction time experiment does not measure speed of affective response, and consequently tells us nothing about temperament. It measures speed of skeletal response, whereas affective response is mainly visceral. The measurement of affective response would require a different technique. The subject might be instructed to respond not when he cognizes the stimulus but rather when he experiences a feeling or emotion in relation to it. Or the speed of the visceral response might be

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indicated by the psychogalvanic reflex or by changes in blood pressure or pulse rate.

It is clear from observation in life situations that cognition of a stimulus and affective response to it are not necessarily simultaneous. The affective response may lag behind the perception and people may differ in the duration of this lag. On the other hand the affect may actually precede the cognition. The subject experiences a feeling or emotion before he perceives the stimulus or determining conditions. For example, a person may go into a room and have a feeling of disgust or annoyance before he notices the odor or disorder that causes it, or he may dislike a stranger before he knows why. Thus persons differ not only in speed of affective response but also in the temporal relation of affect and cognition, and this is an important aspect of temperament.

### *Intensity of Affective Reaction*

Strength of reaction has also been considered by previous writers. It is mentioned in the Wundtian analysis given above. The same criticism applies here as in the case of speed of reaction. The responses usually described are not affective but conative, and belong to character rather than temperament. However, people do differ in the intensity of their affective reactions,



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in their likes and dislikes, their loves, hates, fears, angers and disgusts. The exact measurement of the strength of such responses remains a matter for future investigation; but the fact of temperamental difference in this respect is well-established by ordinary observation.

### *Extensivity of Affective Reactions*

This means the spread of activity throughout the central nervous system and the autonomic apparatus, and also the reverberation of the affect in consciousness. In the first place, the affective response may involve more or less wide-spread bodily activity. That is to say, a few viscera and glands may participate, or almost all of them as in extreme excitement. And, secondly, the feeling or emotion may be associated with few or many ideas, impulses, and other mental processes. Thus affective experiences are "thin" or "all-pervading;" and individual differences in this respect determine in part the poverty or richness of temperament. Some partake of the froth of experience while others "drink life to the lees."

Extensivity is closely related to intensity, for an intense emotion is likely to involve more of the physiological processes. But an emotion may be relatively intense and yet limited in its visceral

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spread. For instance, some persons can experience apparently intense anger without disturbance of the digestive processes, while others find even mild annoyance physiologically upsetting. Similarly an emotion may be intense without arousing many ideational associations.

### *Duration of Affective Response*

The degree of persistence of a feeling or emotion once aroused is an aspect of temperament commonly acknowledged by psychologists and readily recognized by anyone. It is popularly supposed that there is some correlation between speed of arousal of an affect and its duration. The idea is that if an emotion is promptly aroused it as promptly subsides, while if it is aroused slowly it is likely to be more lasting. There is probably some truth in this belief, but it is not an invariable relation.

At any rate people differ in the duration of feelings and emotions as well as in the speed of emotional response and this aspect of temperament is of considerable social significance. Some persons have emotional "flurries" that soon blow over, while others have "moods" that persist for hours or days. Thus a feeling of cheerfulness or annoyance at the breakfast table may brighten or becloud an entire day. The duration of an emotion

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varies somewhat with the intensity of the exciting cause but it is mainly a matter of temperamental idiosyncrasy. The social attitude towards it is inconsistent, for it is usually regarded as desirable to recover promptly from anger but slowly from love.

### *Affective Intelligence*

The capacity to learn is of basic importance in temperament as well as in intellect and character. The "conditioning" of feelings and emotions is possible because of this capacity. That is to say affects are transferable from one object or stimulus to another experienced at the same time. For example, the pleasant feeling at a dinner party may become attached to an article of food previously found indifferent or actually unpleasant; and the enjoyment of a social event may become associated with the people participating. In this way we learn to like or to dislike not only foods and persons but things in general. Similarly, fear, anger and love may be transferred from one person or thing to another. The capacity so to condition feelings and emotions varies from person to person and may be called affective intelligence.

Furthermore, by virtue of affective intelligence the feelings and emotions may be modified, refined and differentiated so that the affective experiences and responses of the cultured adult are

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far removed from those of the child or the untutored savage. The achievement of the delicate nuances of feeling and emotion found in æsthetic appreciation and cultured social relations depends of course upon training and experience; but without affective intelligence these would have little or no effect.

Feelings and emotions are also combined in various ways resulting in compound emotions like admiration, gratitude and awe. They become associated with impulses and ideas, persons or objects to form sentiments. Thus affective organization goes hand in hand with the organization of the whole personality. This organization depends upon intelligence as well as upon experience and training. Affective intelligence may therefore be defined as the capacity to condition, modify and combine feelings and emotions and to associate them with other mental processes.

### *Excitants of Affective Response*

A further problem to be considered is what stimuli, situations and ideas arouse feelings and emotions. The answer to this question would require an exhaustive inventory of a person's likes and dislikes, and the things that arouse fear, anger, disgust and other emotions. An analysis of this inventory might show whether the affects are

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determined more by ideas or by things, and to what extent they have become conditioned to and influenced by ideals. It would also reveal any unusual conditionings or associations, such as pleasure in pain, and annoyance in common pastimes and amusements. This aspect of temperament has come in for some consideration and inventories of this sort have already been devised.

Jung has distinguished between feeling introverts and feeling extraverts.<sup>2</sup> In the former the feelings and emotions are determined from within by subjectively created ideals and principles. In the latter they are determined from without by objective conditions and social standards. The former is original, the latter imitative in affective response. For instance, the æsthetic appreciation of the feeling introvert is not influenced by generally accepted standards, while that of the feeling extravert is solely determined by group opinion and established custom.

People differ also in the readiness with which their affects are aroused by the affective responses of others. That is to say some people are more sympathetic than others. Sympathy means "feeling with" another, and does not imply active assistance or the rendering of service. The latter depends rather upon a parental or protective

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<sup>2</sup> C. G. Jung, *op. cit.*



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drive and may or may not involve sympathy. A generally sympathetic person will feel angry if others are angry, joyful if others are happy, afraid if others show fear, and amused if they manifest amusement. But sympathy may also be specific. Some people sympathize with only certain affective experiences.

### *Affective Organization*

The actual organization of the affective life must be distinguished from the capacity for such organization. The former is dependent upon experience and training, and develops slowly in close relationship with the organization of intellect and character. It is a matter of association of feelings, emotions, ideas and impulses in the formation of affective attitudes and sentiments like appreciation and love. Simple attitudes and sentiments formed in this way may be embraced by more complex ones. For instance, family ties are included in and form part of loyalty to country. A hierarchy of sentiments may thus be developed. People differ in the perfection of this hierarchy, and in the nature of their sentiments especially the dominant one. These differences involve intellect and character as well as temperament. They concern the whole personality, but the emphasis is now on the affective aspect.

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The organization of feelings and emotions in sentiments and attitudes increases affective stability. The associated emotions have a mutually softening and inhibiting effect, and the more inclusive sentiments exercise a control over the simpler ones. Hence, the development of temperament involves a transition from the emotional instability of childhood to the stability of middle age. Emotional instability in an adult means failure in affective development. This failure may be due to poor affective intelligence, unstable physical constitution, retarding environmental influences, or inadequate guidance and training. The emotions and feelings retain their primitive intensity and variability. Temperamental inadequacy or retardation of this kind sometimes occurs in conjunction with good intellectual development. In such a case the person concerned will be "too reasonable" and cold-blooded, and may even commit shocking but carefully calculated crimes.

Affective organization also means decreased and more easily resolved affective conflicts. Feelings and emotions organized in a sentiment are more likely to be harmonious, and sentiments organized into a hierarchy are more likely to be compatible. In fact, antagonistic feelings, such as liking and disliking the same person or thing, tend

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to disrupt a sentiment; and conflicting sentiments, such as clandestine love and marital fidelity, tend to dissociate a personality.

The organization and integration of temperament, and personality as a whole, means the continuous overcoming or resolution of conflict, for in the sensitive personality fresh conflicts are continually arising. These conflicts may have a broadening and softening influence, if they are adequately solved; for solution means the breaking up or modification of old integrations and the formation of new ones. Thus the personality maintains its flexibility, plasticity, and novelty. On the other hand absence of conflict means early solidification of the personality, narrowness and intolerance; while extreme and insoluble conflict leads to chronic anxiety or dissociation.

### *Affective Consciousness*

As a result of dissociation or other causes, persons possess varying degrees of consciousness of their own affective responses. Morton Prince's analysis of fears is interesting from this point of view.<sup>3</sup> He has shown that a total fear response and situation includes the physical disturbance, the emotional excitement, the idea or object of the emotion, and the meaning of this idea. Any num-

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<sup>3</sup>Morton Prince, *The Unconscious*, Macmillan, 1914.

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ber of these factors may be outside of consciousness.

Sometimes there remains in consciousness only awareness of the physical reactions without any feeling of fear whatsoever. In general fear or anxiety, the physical disturbance and emotion are both conscious, but the idea and meaning are functioning subconsciously. In specific fears or phobias, the idea or object is also conscious, but the meaning or setting remains subconscious. The subject then knows what he is afraid of but does not know why he is afraid. Finally, the meaning may be in consciousness and the subject know also why he is afraid. Similar degrees of consciousness occur in relation to other feelings and emotions. In any affective response a person may be conscious of the total situation. Or he may be unaware of the meaning of his affect and even of the stimulating cause. Or he may be unconscious of the affect itself, and experience only the physiological disturbance.

A closely allied consideration is the degree to which a person objectifies or projects his feelings and emotions, that is to say, the mode of consciousness of the affects. The affects may become so closely associated with or attached to the external object that they may appear to reside in it rather than in the subject. Thus we may per-

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sonify inanimate objects, as when we speak of a blue day or an angry sky. Or we may ascribe our own emotions to other persons, as when we believe that the person we hate, hates us, or the person we love, loves us. This tendency towards the projection of affects is a temperamental variable of considerable social significance.

### *Affective Expression*

Feelings and emotions are conjoined with or may become associated with certain skeletal responses, other visceral responses, or cortical activity. Expression of affects is thus extremely diverse and varied. Almost any overt response may be made in any given emotion, and so it is sometimes difficult to infer the emotion from the behavior. Certain responses are, however, more likely to occur in each emotion. These constitute the well known expressions of the emotions so often described. Even visceral, glandular and vaso-motor responses may be integrated in different ways at different times and for different persons. For instance, blushing may occur in different emotions, such as anger or love; and when it does occur it may involve different parts of the face or body.

The affective excitement may be drained off mainly through cortical activity. That is to say,



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the feeling or emotion is expressed through associated ideas. It becomes a stimulus to thought. In such a case the person may appear to be passive in emotion. Indeed the distinction active and passive is probably merely a matter of the associated psychophysiological processes. The active person expresses his affects mainly through skeletal activity, the passive through visceral or cortical.

## CHAPTER VI

### Character

THERE remains a third important aspect of personality, the aspect of impulse and action. This part of personality may be called character, if the term is used without ethical significance. In the psychological universe of discourse character is neither good nor bad, but is merely the total conative and active constitution or make-up, which like the ideational and affective constitutions varies in scientifically describable ways as indicated below. Subjectively, from the standpoint of inner experience, character is a matter of impulses, their organization and control; while objectively, from the point of view of the external observer, it is a matter of overt skeletal responses or movements and their co-ordination. Both impulses and responses are determined in part by heredity and in part by experience. Thus character, like intellect and temperament, is a joint product of nature and nurture; but these two influences are not separated in the following analysis.

#### *Prescription of Drives*

A fundamental factor in character is the num-

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ber and nature of the drives. These are subjective or inner experiences, the impulses or urges to action. They must be distinguished from purposes, which they become when they get associated with the idea of the goal of action. The drives may be more or less general. Some of them are universal among mankind, others are possessed by large numbers of people, while still others occur in only a few persons or in a single individual. Thus, the sex drive, the food-getting drive and probably the attention-getting drive are practically universal; the parental impulse, domination, acquisition and pugnacity are relatively common but probably not altogether universal; and the impulse to sit in a particular chair by a particular fireside is quite individual.

Some of the drives are primary or elemental, others are secondary or complex. The primary drives are not based upon or derived from other drives, while the secondary drives are dependent upon and analysable into more elemental impulses. This distinction is made from a purely psychological point of view and has no ulterior biological or metaphysical implications. From this standpoint the sex urge and the food-getting impulse would be included among the primary drives, as they are not reducible introspectively to anything more fundamental; while acquisition would be

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secondary, as it is derived from more elemental impulses like food-getting or domination.

Sometimes a distinction is made between drives due to original nature or heredity and those acquired as a result of experience and training. This distinction is mainly academic and theoretical, for very few drives can be classified with certainty in either category. The food-getting and sex drives are probably due to original nature since they are related to physiological mechanisms. The impulse to smoke cigarettes after meals is obviously acquired. But there is less certainty regarding many drives, such as pugnacity, domination, curiosity, acquisition, and the parental and gregarious impulses. For instance, domination and acquisition may be acquired in early life as a result of the training and experience provided in western civilizations. They are certainly not so markedly developed in some oriental countries.

Character is a matter not only of the number and nature of the drives but also of their relative intensity. Of special significance is the predominant or prepotent drive; for it determines in some degree the type of character, just as a predominant emotion determines a type of temperament. For example, the pugnacious character is based upon the impulse to fight, the safety-seeking character upon the impulse to escape, the dominating

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and submissive characters upon self-assertion and self-abasement respectively, the miserly character upon acquisition, and the helpful character upon the parental drive. Some characters are composite, being based upon two or more dominant drives. In accordance with the terminology of Charles Fourier, persons having one dominant drive may be called *monogynes*, and those having two or more *polygynes*.<sup>1</sup>

The absolute intensity of the drives also varies from person to person. If they are all unusually weak, the character is lethargic and ineffective; if they are strong, it is energetic and dynamic. The strength of the drives depends somewhat upon physiological conditions and may even change with climatic variations. In illness and in depression the impulses are usually weak, but in the manic states of mental disease and in the exalted phases of daily life they are more or less intensified.

The dominant drive may change from time to time in conformity with age, physiological development, and social circumstances. Food, sex and power indicate the common predominant drives of infancy, youth and maturity respectively. In this connection it is interesting to note that the transition from youth to maturity is often accompanied by a gradual change in a person's psycho-

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<sup>1</sup>O. Fourier, *The Passions of the Human Soul*, 1851.



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analytic views, the sexual theories of Freud being replaced by the Ego doctrines of Adler in conformity with the change in the subject's own predominant drive.

The extreme variations in the intensity or nature of the drives are interesting and instructive. These are the so-called abnormal impulses or manias frequently mentioned in the popular press. They occur in certain mental diseases but also sometimes in persons not otherwise abnormal. The gormandizer is dominated by the food-getting drive, the sex pervert by unusual sexual impulses, and the kleptomaniac by the impulse to take what does not belong to him. The paranoiac, who develops delusions of persecution and grandeur, is no doubt dominated by the defensive impulses (fight and escape) and by the drive for power.

### *Stimulability of Drives*

The ease of arousal of the impulses, or conative sensitivity must be distinguished from affective sensitivity described under temperament. It is true that emotions and drives are often stimulated together, as when anger and pugnacity are aroused by the same person. But emotions and feelings may occur without drives, and drives may occur without emotion. In any case the readiness with which the drives are aroused into activity is

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an important variable in character. For instance, people differ in their responsiveness to "sex appeal" from the most susceptible to the most obtuse, and similar variations occur with respect to the other drives. This form of susceptibility to stimuli may change from time to time as physical and social conditions change.

### *Excitants of Drives and Behavior*

A factor closely related to conative sensitivity is the range and kind of stimuli or situations which arouse the drives. Some of these stimuli may be original excitants of the impulses, but most of them are conditioned, that is associated with the drives through experience. An inventory would therefore differ greatly from person to person. It would include among other items the things a man fights for or avoids, his sex fetishes, and his incentives to power, achievement and social activity.

An important item would be the degree to which impulses and responses are determined by and patterned after the behavior of others, that is the tendency to imitate. Imitation means doing what others do; and it may be intentional, as when one voluntarily copies an idol or hero; conscious but unintentional, as when one gazes into the heavens on seeing others do so; or quite unconscious, as when one gradually takes on the

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accent and customs of a community. Imitative persons are usually suggestible and submissive being overawed by prestige and numbers.

### *Conative and Motor Intelligence*

The capacity to learn is a basal factor in character. It may be regarded from both subjective and objective standpoints. Subjectively, it means capacity to condition impulses, to modify them, to combine them into more complex drives and to associate them with ideas and affects in the formation of sentiments. Objectively, it is the capacity to condition reflexes and to co-ordinate muscular responses into habits, and thus acquire technical skills, social attitudes and other forms of behavior.

It is clear that conative and motor intelligence are essential prerequisites for the organization and development of character. But nevertheless environmental influences, guidance and training, determine the exact nature of the organization, the habits and attitudes that will be acquired. In other words the actual traits of character are dependent upon social experience, but the formation of any traits at all presupposes intelligence.

People differ in conative and motor learning capacity as much as in other forms of intelligence. Those who are deficient in motor intelligence re-

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main *motor defectives*, unskilled and awkward; while those who are superior may with proper training become *motor geniuses*, skilled, poised, and graceful. Similarly, deficiency in conative intelligence means inability to organize and modify the impulses and associate them with other aspects of the personality. The character therefore remains relatively undeveloped. On the other hand, superiority in this form of intelligence affords the basis for development of strength and stability of character under the auspices of a favorable environment.

### *Manifestation of Drives*

The drives are manifested as behavior responses, which may be regarded as the objective aspects or overt expressions of them. Some of the behavior responses are due to original nature. Simple reflexes like the knee jerk and the involuntary winking of the eye are probably so determined, as are also the random movements of the infant as it lies awake in its crib. More complex sequences of movements may likewise be inherited. Here belong the nutritive activity of the infant (sucking, swallowing, digesting and eliminating), the movements of spitting out, crying, vocalizing, crawling, walking and the like.

But by far the greater part of behavior, after

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the earliest days of infancy, is acquired as a result of experience and training—is learned. The habitual nature of social and moral behavior is everywhere recognized, but it is not so generally understood that much behavior, usually called instinctive, is also in reality a matter of habit. For instance, we learn to eat and drink in accordance with social convention, we learn to make love, to fight, to show-off, and to behave in a parental manner. Hence all these forms of behavior differ greatly at different periods of time, in different countries, and with different persons.

All acquired behavior responses or habits are reducible to two basic forms, conditioned and co-ordinated responses. In conditioned responses movements are associated with objects, in co-ordinated responses they are associated with each other into new combinations and sequences. Most complex habits involve both processes. The first habits are conditioned reflexes and co-ordinations of random movements, while later habits are more complex conditioned responses and co-ordinations of habits previously acquired. The habits also become associated with ideas, affects and impulses in the development of the total personality.

The formation of habit has been thoroughly investigated, and the various factors which determine or facilitate the process have been iso-



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lated. These will not be described in detail here, as they may be found in many textbooks of psychology. It is necessary, however, to say that the process of habit formation begins with more or less random movements or trials, and that successful response in the beginning is usually a matter of chance. We learn by a process of trial, error and ultimate success. It has also been found that pleasant and satisfying results in some way aid in the fixation of the desired behavior, and that repetition facilitates the performance. Of course habit formation, and learning in general, is more rapid and effective, if there is a motive for learning, such as resulting pleasure, self-expression, or the satisfaction of drives.

Character, as the concept is used here, includes all the manifold varieties of habits. Some of these are as follows: (a) habits of speech, vocabulary, phraseology, accent and intonation of the voice; (b) the complex array of writing habits, the formation of letters, words and sentences, paragraphing and punctuation; (c) habits of skill, vocational, athletic, domestic and artistic; (d) habits of work and play, methodical habits, the time and amount of work and play; (e) personal habits, feeding and sleeping habits, cleanliness, sex activity, and addiction to drugs; (f) social and moral habits, etiquette and manners, habits in

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business relations, truthfulness, punctuality, carelessness, honesty, thriftiness, and so forth. All of these habits are acquired in the same way. They presuppose a capacity to learn, and develop as a result of experience, guidance and training.

### *Habits of Control*

These are habits of checking or curbing impulses and guiding them into suitable channels of expression. They are usually considered especially important in character. For instance, Roback defines character as "an enduring psychophysical disposition to inhibit instinctive impulses in accordance with a regulative principle."<sup>2</sup> He believes this power of inhibition is an innate ability. Some forms of neural inhibition may be innate; but the sort of inhibition involved in the development of character is more likely a matter of habit, the habit of control. There is considerable evidence for this in genetic psychology. It is found that habits of control are slowly acquired by children in the same way as other habits. They are probably at first more or less chance responses that become stamped in by repetition and by their satisfying results. In this way the child learns to refrain from taking sweets or fruit that belong to someone else. He finds the control of this primary

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<sup>2</sup>A. A. Roback, *The Psychology of Character*, Harcourt, Brace, 1927.

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impulse more satisfying, for he thereby wins approval and avoids punishment. In the same way he may learn to refrain from crying, fighting, showing off, and yielding to other tendencies.

These habits of control are learned separately for each specific impulse and situation. There is probably no such thing as a general habit of control that can be learned all at once, although it is of course possible to learn to control all the important drives individually. But most people develop habits of control over some of the drives and not over others. Pugnacity may be controlled but not the sex drive, the sex drive but not domination, or domination but not acquisition. Furthermore, this control may be exercised in some situations and not in others. For instance, a person may have learned to control the impulse to take what does not belong to him in his business relations and not in other social relations. Many otherwise honest people have no compunctions about stealing books, umbrellas, or alcoholic beverages.

Individual differences are just as often due to the distribution and strength of the habits of control as to the number and intensity of the impulses. Thus, a person who fights readily may have a strong pugnacious drive or may lack habits

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of controlling this impulse. Some so-called sex differences are dependent upon the acquisition of different habits of control. In conformity with existing social traditions, it is more customary for boys than for girls to learn to control fear and self-display, while it is more usual for girls to control pugnacity and the sex impulse. Even some of the differences between races may be due to different habits of control acquired because of different racial or national traditions. As these sex and race differences are not grounded in original nature but in social custom, they are not so unchangeable as is usually supposed.

It is important to distinguish between control and the psychoanalytic concept of repression. The latter means forcing the impulse completely out of consciousness, and this may involve a certain loss of control inasmuch as the repressed drive may find an unintended and unchecked outlet. Repression decreases the available supply of energy and is undesirable from the standpoint of mental health. Control on the other hand is not unhealthy and is quite essential in any organized society. In control the drives remain conscious but are restrained and directed into suitable channels. Training and practice in control are therefore necessary in the development of character.

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### *Balance of Drives and Controls*

A number of interesting individual differences and abnormalities result from lack of balance between the drives and the habits of control. The drives may be strong or weak and the controls may be deficient or excessive resulting in complete inhibition or repression. Thus four extreme forms of variation in character are possible, namely: excessive impulsion, deficient impulsion, excessive control and deficient control.

*Excessive impulsion* may be general or specific, involving all the impulses or only one of them. In the former case, there is a general excess of energy or "pressure of activity" such as may be found in "live wires" and in the exalted phase of the manic-depressive psychosis. In the latter, some particular impulse is unusually intense and uncontrollable. This may be illustrated by kleptomania, the uncontrollable impulse to steal; pyromania, the impulse to set fires; dipsomania, the periodic impulse to drink intoxicating liquors; and various sexual and homicidal manias. In daily life, impulses are frequently intensified when the customary behavior is for any reason impossible. For instance, a person may have a strong desire to smoke when he has no cigarettes, or to do any act that is prohibited. A prohibition always intensifies the impulse to do the prohibited thing.



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*Deficient impulsion* may also be general or specific. In the first case, all drives lack their usual intensity, as in fatigued states, lethargic conditions, and physical illness. In the second, some specific drive is unusually weak. There may be deficiency in the impulse to fight, to escape from danger, to achieve power and wealth, or to find a mate. The strength of drives varies greatly among different people and from time to time in the same person.

*Excessive control* or inhibition may likewise be more or less general, restraining many impulses or only a few. It may take the form of aboulia or "blocking of the will," when the subject seems quite unable to do what he really wants to do. For instance, he may wish to perform some act of kindness, and feel quite unable to overcome the inhibitions or counter impulses. A blocking of this sort occurs in psychasthenia which is characterized by chronic indecision and exaggerated effort arising from the conflict of impulses and inhibitions.

In dementia præcox also, a patient will sometimes be observed to begin a response which is suddenly checked or modified by the inhibiting counter habits. For instance, if the patient is asked a question, his lips may begin to move and then suddenly become pressed together tightly, and, if he is offered the hand in greeting, his own

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hand may start to move forward and then stop and move in the opposite direction or go through some peculiarly modified form of movement. In fact, any suggestion to action may result in the opposite form of behavior, and this phenomenon is therefore called contra-suggestibility or negativism. A similar trait is manifested in the behavior of obstinate and stubborn people.

*Deficient control* may also pertain to one or many impulses. A person may have failed to acquire control for some particular drive, such as pugnacity, acquisition, domination or self-display; or his lack of control may be more general. Children at first have no control because they have not yet acquired the necessary habits; and consequently every impulse flows quickly into action. Alcohol removes the inhibiting habits and thus allows easy expression of the impulses. A similar result obtains in certain mental diseases which diminish the inhibiting powers of the patient, and in physical illness or during convalescence from or incubation of a disease.

The increased readiness to react resulting from deficient control may take the form of unusual responsiveness to external or internal suggestions. For example, in dementia præcox a patient may obey commands automatically and imitate the behavior or speech of any person who addresses

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him; or he may repeat over and over again the same movement or the same words. Similar imitative and perseverative mannerisms occur in mentally healthy people. The perseveration of movement is analogous to the persistence of a trivial idea or impulse, as when a person is obsessed with a snatch of verse and is quite unable to control its continual repetition in thought.

It is difficult practically to distinguish between excessive impulsion and deficient control. A very active person may be one who has an unusual amount of drive, or one who has poor control over normal or even deficient impulses. He may be in reality a "dynamo," but he is just as often a "spinning top" driven by a small impetus but checked with only a minimum of resistance. Similarly, it is difficult to distinguish between excessive control and deficient impulsion. An inactive person may be inhibiting a normal drive or lacking in impulse to action. A stable balance of impulsion and control with reference to all the various drives is not easy to achieve.

### *Overcompensation*

An exaggeration of habits of control may result in complete repression, and the consequent development in consciousness and in behavior of the very opposite of what has been repressed. The

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controlling habits constitute a resistance preventing the manifestation of the inhibited behavior and the emergence into consciousness of the repressed impulses, emotions or ideas. This defense mechanism affords an explanation of many common traits of character. Thus, vanity, conceit, and aggressiveness may be overcompensations for inferiority or a feeling of inferiority, prudishness may be a defense against the sex drive, rashness against fear, docility against pugnacity, and modesty against conceit.

It follows that a trait of character is sometimes open to two interpretations. It may be the outcome of an original or early acquired drive, or the compensation for an opposite one. For instance, domination and aggressiveness may be based directly upon self-assertion or may be compensations for inferiority and self-abasement; and courage may be based upon social instincts and self-assertion or it may be a reaction against fear. In such cases the natural trait can ordinarily be distinguished from the compensating one by the fact that the latter goes to extremes. A courage that compensates for fear is usually rashness, and a domination that compensates for inferiority is usually arrogance. A compensating character trait is never a golden mean. Its very existence depends upon complete denial of the opposite.

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Thus, character may be built upon natural and early acquired impulses or upon overcompensations for them. In the former case, human nature is accepted as it is, modified, controlled, directed and organized. This process is essentially what the psychoanalysts have called sublimation. A character so founded will necessarily be broad, tolerant and catholic. In the latter case, human nature is rejected, and the superstructure of character is built upon a foundation of defenses. The character is narrow, intolerant, puritanical, and often borders upon the pathological. Psychoneurotic symptoms are frequently a result of overcompensation. Thus, abnormal hate may be a defense against rejected and repressed love; and megalomania may be an overcompensation for inferiority.

### *Speed and Precision of Movement*

The traditional reaction time test measures an aspect of character rather than of temperament. It has revealed individual differences in the speed of skeletal responses in experimental situations, but differences in the rate or tempo of overt activity in the routine of work, in play, and in social activity are more significant and ubiquitous. Not only individuals but whole communities and even nations seem to differ in this respect. People living in a busy industrial center move more quickly than



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those living in a quiet rural retreat. The tempo of life is determined chiefly by community ideals, by the prevailing attitude towards life. In America it has been speeded up under the influence of ideals of efficiency and the mistaken notion that efficiency means rapid and ceaseless action.

Accuracy in motor performance is dependent upon the acquisition of skill, that is upon the co-ordination of movement and the elimination of superfluous activity. Behavior thus becomes more precise and less extensive. Precision of movement is probably not a general ability. Each skill is acquired independently and separately as a result of experience or training in a particular activity, motor intelligence being, of course, a necessary prerequisite. Among the manifold varieties of skillful behavior, the habits involved in personal relationships, in social bearing and refinement are of major importance in character.

### *Physical Strength and Endurance*

The overt muscular responses, like the inner drives, also vary in intensity, and this is a matter of physical strength or weakness. But strength does not necessarily mean endurance. In athletics the man who can perform a tremendous feat of strength is not always the one who will last through a prolonged or gruelling contest. Endur-

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ance in work is affected by fatigue and inertia. It tends to be decreased by the one and increased by the other. A fatigable person without much inertia will begin work with considerable efficiency, fall off rapidly and stop promptly; while a person of great inertia will take a long time to get under way and then be unable to stop until the task is finished even though obviously fatigued. Because of these and other factors, the endurance of workers varies greatly and the diurnal course of efficiency takes different forms.

### *Persistence of Motives*

Endurance must not be confused with the permanence of a dominant drive. A person's work may be spasmodic but his motives enduring, or vice versa his work may be continuous over a considerable period of time but his motives transitory and changeable. Persistency of motives is regarded by some writers as the essential factor in character. For instance, Münsterberg has defined character as "the power to keep the selective motive dominant" throughout life.<sup>3</sup> Webb also believes that persistence is a common factor in all character traits, and thus a basic native component giving character unity and strength.<sup>4</sup> The present

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<sup>3</sup>H. Münsterberg, *Psychology, General and Applied*, Appleton, 1914.

<sup>4</sup>E. Webb, *Character and Intelligence*, Brit. Jour. of Psychol. Mon., No. 3, 1915.

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writer believes that character has little or no essential unity and that both unity and persistence of motivation are the outcome of organization, a product of training and experience.

### *Organization of Drives*

Simple impulses become conditioned and integrated into more and more complex drives. They also become associated with ideas and affects in the development of interests, sentiments and purposes. A purpose is a drive associated with the idea of an end or goal. The drives may become organized into a hierarchy under a major drive, as when a person has one dominant purpose in life. Thus the organization of character implies the formation of associative bonds among the impulses, and between the impulses and other components of the personality; and this depends upon both intelligence and experience.

The organization of drives involves the resolution of conflict between antagonistic impulses. Opposing impulses become mutually modified so that they may both be gratified. For instance, the sex drive and the social impulses are both satisfied by wooing and mating in accordance with the rules or conventions of the social group concerned; and both aggressive and protective impulses are gratified by protecting aggressively, as social

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workers do. A real solution of conflict implies control and direction of impulses. But a spurious solution is sometimes effected through repression. One of the antagonistic drives is put out of consciousness entirely, an outcome which leads to loss of control and deprivation of energy.

Character may thus be primitive, repressed or controlled. The *primitive* character lacks organization and consequent direction. Behavior is more or less spasmodic and unpredictable in obedience to the impulse of the moment. The *repressed* character is inadequate, unnatural and often over-compensated and affected; while the *controlled* character finds a satisfactory outlet for all important drives and at the same time achieves consistency and strength.

A persistent unresolved conflict means consciousness of effort, indecision, and in extreme cases chronic anxiety or anxiety neurosis. The subject will be ineffective because of the blocking of impulses, and every act may require an effort of will. Will in the sense of active volition or effort presupposes conflict, and thus indicates an unstable or poorly integrated character or one in the process of formation. It would be better to understand by will the effortless direction of impulses in a well organized character.

The traits popularly designated strength and

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weakness of character are mainly matters of degree of organization and consequent control of impulses. In a strong or *stable* character the impulses are organized into a system or hierarchy in which the single tendencies are subordinated to a major drive. Such a character implies a well-developed dominant sentiment and purpose; but it may conform to or differ from accepted standards of morality. A strong character is not necessarily identical with a conventionally moral character.

In a weak or *unstable* character organization is absent or defective. The various impulses remain independent and unrelated. They may conflict with each other and the subject be driven in opposed directions, so that adequate response is prevented. Such an *impasse* of conflicting impulses constitutes aboulia or blocking of the will. Poor organization of character may coexist with good cognitive organization, thus accounting for some anomalies of behavior in persons of intellectual ability. Unstable character since it involves internal conflict is characteristic of the psychoneuroses.

Unconventional and criminal characters may be stable or unstable, strong or weak, depending upon the degree of organization. In a strong criminal character the impulses are well integrated but



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associated with unusual ideals or with antisocial aims and feelings. In a weak or unstable one the impulses are poorly organized, and the unconventional or criminal behavior is the outcome of undirected drives or partial and conflicting motives.

### *Consciousness of Drives and Behavior*

There are marked individual differences in consciousness of drives and of behavior. Some persons have more insight into their own motives than others, but only a few are conscious of all their drives. Conscious drives may be united with the organization or remain relatively independent as mentioned above. But sometimes, when a drive is incorporated into the hierarchy, it becomes so modified that it is consciously experienced by the subject as something different. For instance, the sex drive may be experienced as an artistic, mystical or religious impulse, and this is exemplified in the lives of saints and mystics. Again, the drive for power may appear to consciousness in the garb of altruism and loyalty, as when a man on entering public life protests that he is sacrificing private interests for the good of his country.

This form of rationalization is extremely common, for only persons of great psychological in-

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sight recognize their own motives for what they are. The common lack of insight is probably due to the fact that the true motives are usually regarded as in some way inferior to the ones that are substituted for them. Hence the achievement of psychological insight requires a new ethical evaluation of motives. There is really nothing objectionable or inferior about fundamental drives like domination and the sex impulse. They are merely human.

Drives may also be unconscious because they have become repressed and dissociated from the organization. This is an outcome of mental conflict as previously stated. Drives so repressed may manifest themselves indirectly in unintentional and even unconscious behavior. They are removed from control of the organization and function independently, the sum of directed energy being thereby diminished.

People differ also in their liability to unconscious behavior responses, that is to say, in their automatic or mechanical tendencies. Neurologically, this automatic tendency probably depends upon the ease with which simple neural patterns become dissociated from the main system and function independently. The automatic responses take various forms and have different degrees of complexity. The simplest example is the fre-

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quently described nervous tic. This is a spasmodic movement or twitching, such as the winking of an eye or the involuntary nodding of the head. Nervous tics are not only unintentional but are also entirely beyond conscious control. Mannerisms are somewhat more complicated and less automatic responses. These are the little irrelevant movements and gestures that are so characteristic of certain persons. They too are unintentional but may be controlled so long as the attention is directed towards them.

Some people are subject to still more complex automatisms, such as automatic writing, absent-minded acts, and fugues. A person who is liable to automatisms may, if a pencil is placed in his hand, write words and even meaningful sentences without conscious intention or knowledge of what is being written. This form of dissociated activity is frequently regarded as a special qualification by the afflicted persons.

Absent-minded acts are automatic actions that take place when one's attention is concentrated on something else or when one is day dreaming. They have various degrees of complexity and importance. For instance, one person draws designs on the writing pad while he is telephoning, another winds his watch frequently without knowing it, a man takes off his clothes to dress for an evening

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party but goes to bed instead, or a professor in a brown study goes to his lecture hall when he set out for a social engagement.

It is only a step from such cases to psychoneurotic fugues, in which the patient wanders about and does complicated things with complete amnesia for his behavior and experience. In epilepsy also, a person may fall into a dream state in which violent and sometimes criminal acts get done, of which he will have no remembrance. But quite apart from pathological cases, the tendency towards automatism in behavior is an interesting aspect of character, and one in which people differ considerably.

## CHAPTER VII

### The Total Personality

**P**ERSONALITY is an organized whole or configuration whose aspects are the figures that stand out momentarily against an ever-changing ground. Even the rudimentary personality of the infant has a certain unity. A baby is from the beginning a mechanical organization, a physiological organism, a neurally integrated stimulus-response system. But a more complete and inclusive unity may yet be achieved. Simple responses become co-ordinated, new reaction patterns are acquired, and behavior attains a greater measure of constancy and consistency.

On the more purely psychological side the "buzzing confusion" of a poorly differentiated conscious background gradually arranges itself into the clearer patterns of experience. Ideas, affects and impulses are acquired or distinguished, and then combined into more complex patterns or systems, which are continually broken up and re-aligned in the kaleidoscopic stream of personal experience. The succeeding systems may remain relatively simple and perhaps dissociated from



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each other; or they may become more and more inclusive in the progressive development of a more and more unified personality.

Some of the fundamental components and processes of personality were previously described, and in this connection the importance of synthesis and integration were emphasized. It was also pointed out that personality is a psychophysiological organization in which the nervous system plays a central rôle. Both physical and mental aspects were discussed in some detail, and it was found that the consideration of any one aspect involved reference to the others.

All the aspects of personality may be involved in ordinary behavior responses. These are overt muscular movements, but they are preceded by invisible neural activity and, on the psychological side, by perceptions and drives. They may also follow ideational processes or be the outward expressions of feelings or emotions. Even the simplest conscious reaction to a stimulus involves perception and perhaps conation as well as movement; and the more complicated social behavior may be the sequel of processes permeating the total personality.

The three aspects of psychological personality are represented in sentiments, purposes, interests and aversions. A *sentiment* is a system or con-

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stellation of ideas together with associated feelings and drives. For instance, the sentiment of loyalty to country consists of ideas pertaining to the country, feelings and emotions associated with these ideas, and tendencies to respond or behave in definite ways towards the country or with reference to the ideas. Interests are similar to sentiments but the emphasis is upon the ideas, with feelings and emotions playing a minor but yet important rôle.

A *purpose* is a drive or system of drives associated with an idea of an end or goal of action. It is not a primary component of consciousness but a complex product of experience. The drives are more elemental and some of them are no doubt grounded in original nature, but the original drives are blind impulses to action without conscious direction. They become conscious purposes if and when they get connected with ideas consequent upon perception of their own results. For instance, in the unfed infant a vague drive leads to random movements and insistent vocalization. The baby is fed, and this relieves the distress and calms the agitation. Henceforth the hungry child has a drive for food, a rudimentary purpose. Similarly, the restlessness and blind craving of later years may be allayed by some form of sexual

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activity, and so an undefined longing becomes a drive towards a more definite goal.

Personality is infinitely complex and yet not without a certain simplicity. It is complex in its contents, its components, processes and aspects. It tends towards simplicity in the form of its organization. Its possibilities of variation are unlimited, for the contents and processes are variable and the arrangements, the permutations and combinations, innumerable. Thus no two persons are entirely alike, since the original nature and experience which determine the patterns are never identical. Some of the variables of personality have been described already in the discussion of its different aspects, physique, intellect, temperament and character. Others, running through and characterizing the total configuration are mentioned below.

### *The Content of Personality*

Individual differences occur in the simpler components and processes as well as in the more complex traits and abilities. A person may have much or little knowledge and general information, and few or many sentiments, purposes and skills; and the variations in kind are as significant as those in number or degree. This means that the content of personality has *breadth* and *quality*; and these are attributes of intellect, temperament,

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and character as well as of the entire personality.

Thus, people differ in the breadth of their general information as well as in the scope and nature of their special knowledge. Some are narrow and poorly informed, living within a circumscribed area and reading little. Others are broad with a fund of information gleaned through extensive travel, study and intelligent conversation. Still others are learned in special fields of knowledge, but lack versatility and general culture. Again, the information may pertain to physical, biological or social sciences, literature, history, mathematics, practical topics, or even occult and esoteric subjects. Thus the possibilities of variation on the more purely cognitive side are manifold.

Similar individual differences occur in the number and kind of likes and dislikes, interests and aversions, sentiments and affective attitudes. Some people are full of appreciation, like the American girl who was so fond of every place that she could not decide where to spend her vacation. Some dislike everything and would have difficulty in selecting a holiday resort because they are all so disagreeable. And others find all things comparatively indifferent. Some persons have refined artistic and social appreciation, while others exhibit only the coarser and more primitive affects. The sentiments too occur in great diversity. They may

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pertain to persons, institutions, objects of art, animals, natural phenomena, or the world of ideas.

The drives and purposes are likewise varied in number, nature, strength and persistence, and have equally varied expressions in behavior. Persons differ particularly in the multiplicity and quality of their skills, technical, artistic, linguistic, and clerical. They differ also in the more personal habits pertaining to cleanliness, sleep, food, and the like, as well as in social behavior and habits of control.

People differ still more in the more complex abilities, as may be illustrated by general social competency. This is an extremely complicated ability involving knowledge, skill, and emotional adjustment. It includes knowledge of the customs and traditions of various social groups as well as information on human nature in general. It includes "social skill" or the ability to do the correct or desirable thing on different social occasions. It requires emotional adjustment leading to tolerance if not appreciation of the feelings and views of other persons and to the removal of personal prejudices and antagonisms. It involves the ability to control affective responses and thus conceal irritation, annoyance, and dislike. Finally, it requires what may be called "social



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sense," the ability to sense or intuit the feelings and desires of other persons and to treat different people in different ways regardless of one's own preferences or opinions.

The content of personality is subject to change, but some parts of it are more lasting than others. The bodily sensations, organic and kinesthetic, form a relatively permanent core of personality in contrast to the more changeable external perceptions. The experiences of memory are more transitory but without memory personality could scarcely be said to have any content whatever. Bodily sensation and memory are essential to the awareness of personal identity from moment to moment and from day to day. A considerable proportion of the content of personality, both permanent and transient, is outside of personal awareness, and some of it never enters consciousness at all.

There is a gradual *transformation* of the personality from childhood to old age, especially evident at puberty and the climacteric. This is due in part to bodily changes, in part to the changing content of mind and in part to the progressive organization of experience. The alteration involves change in synthesis as well as in content. Abnormal transformation occurs in certain mental diseases. In dementia there is a loss of content as

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well as a breaking down of the organization. In the manic-depressive psychosis the whole mental content changes in conformity with the depressed and exalted moods; and the same is true to a lesser degree in the temperamental ups and downs of everyday life. The alteration occurs not only in feelings and emotions but in ideas, interests and purposes. A similar transformation takes place in physical illness and may be produced artificially in hypnosis, while in paranoia it is more gradual and insidious. All these changes involve the organization as well as the content of personality and may therefore be called repersonalizations.

### *Balance of Personality*

The proportion of the various parts and the symmetry of the organization are significant factors in personality. Balance is an artistic concept and a well-rounded personality has an æsthetic appeal; but as in modern art so in personality balance may be achieved through the symmetry of unlike elements, the higher symmetry of apparently asymmetrical parts, or the meaningful interrelationship of patterns within the total configuration.

Balance may refer to the components of personality, affects, drives, interests, abilities, and the like. The emotions may be equally intense, the

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drives equally strong, the interests and abilities equally developed and well distributed; or some one of these components may be markedly stronger or weaker, more or less developed than the others. For instance, the sex drive may be weak but the drive for power intense, or mathematical ability may be of a high order but linguistic ability lacking.

The simple balance of elements is obviously not so important as the higher balance of the total personality. A well-balanced personality is one in which intellect, temperament, character and physique are all equally well developed. Such a person will have knowledge, æsthetic appreciation and purposive activity. He will be scholar, artist and man of affairs in one; and will fulfil the ancient ideal of *mens sana in corpore sano*. He will not belittle knowledge, neither will he have cynical contempt for the finer feelings, nor haughty disdain for practical affairs and athletic prowess.

On the other hand, one or more aspects may be relatively less developed than the others, resulting in various types of lopsided personality. The simplest types are those in which intellect, temperament or character predominates to the neglect of the other aspects. The unbalanced persons with *intellect dominant* are cold-blooded thinkers and painstaking scientists. They are keen in observation, logical in thought and erudite in learning.

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They live for knowledge, research and productive scholarship and not for friendship, love and beauty.

In temperament and character they are poorly developed, which does not mean that they are wanting in emotions and impulses but rather that they are primitive in mode of life and infantile in affective and conative make-up. They lack finer feelings, delicate shades of emotion, æsthetic appreciation and social sentiments as well as subtle impulses and refined behavior. Their affects and drives may be intense but are always crude and all-or-none reactions. In the color chart of their emotional and impulsive life there are no grays but only blacks and whites.

They are thus educated barbarians possessing knowledge of pure and applied science but having no refinement, no art of living. Hence, when impelled by their primitive emotions and drives, their behavior may be savage in the extreme. They may commit carefully planned but revolting crimes, and outwit the shrewdest detectives. They are fundamentally antisocial being guided by rational self-interest, but they may play on the finer sensibilities of other persons to gain their own ends.

Such is the extreme form of intellectually heavy imbalance, but we need not seek far for lesser copies modelled on the same pattern. They are

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molded in the academic matrix, and fostered by the spirit of the times and of certain peoples. Thus entire nations now apotheosize intellect, place science on a pedestal, and fall down before the goddess of hygiene, but forget how to live and love and grow in beauty.

In sharp contrast to the intellectualists are the less common unbalanced persons with *temperament dominant*. These are not temperamental persons in the ordinary sense of the term. They are persons whose affects are very far removed from the primitive or infantile. Their feelings and emotions have been conditioned, modified, organized and associated with other experiences. They have developed subtle affective discrimination, delicate nuances of feeling, keen æsthetic and social appreciation, and many well-organized sentiments.

Hence, they live to feel, to enjoy, just as the intellectualists live to know, to discern cognitively. Consequently they strive for greater beauty in life and art to awaken and nourish the ever finer affects. They develop an art of eating, an art of loving, an art of personal adornment to enrich and differentiate the fundamental pleasures. It may truly be said of them that they live to eat and they live to love, because they feel that eating and loving are the beginning and the end of life. They are gourmets but never gluttons, votaries of



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Eros but never lewd or obscene, epicures but never vulgar pleasure seekers.

But they lack intellectual acumen and persistent or effective purposes. They are not interested in scientific or philosophic truth and they have no mission to save or to destroy. They wish merely to enjoy life as it is and elaborate the natural affects into myriads of ever-changing patterns. This form of imbalance is more likely to be found among artists and women because of the special quality of their training and experience. But they are æsthetes rather than true artists, dilettanti rather than connoisseurs. They live for the sheer joy of living, and do not follow elusive goals nor chase the fleeting phantoms of truth.

The unbalanced persons with *character dominant* are highly developed in conation and action. Their original drives are conditioned, modified and controlled, finer impulses have been acquired, and all are well-organized and associated with ideas and affects. Their behavior is similarly developed and diversified. They have a multiplicity of skills, technical, social and artistic, numerous well-established habits of action and control, and patterns of behavior suited to every occasion. Their drives are focalized and directed towards prescribed or preconceived goals, and their behavior is nicely adjusted and subservient to their

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purposes. In other words, they are men of will and action, who make effective use of their energy through its control and conscious direction.

They live to strive and to do, but the main emphasis may be on the *striving* or on the *doing*. In the former case, they are dominated by a set purpose, such as power, wealth, fame, or service; and they do not hesitate to use any means that may achieve that end. The winning of the game is more important than how it is played. Life means achievement and each day must see "something attempted, something done," and some new goal on the horizon. Here belong all men with a mission be it constructive or destructive, men of ambition, Babbits who talk of service and co-operation, captains of industry who dominate the lives of millions, and military leaders who alter the course of nations and inspire men to "march to glory or the grave."

If the main emphasis is on the doing, character develops in a different way. The means take precedence over the end, the form is more important than the goal, the manner of playing than the winning of the game. People of this type are guided by the principle that "manners maketh the man," and they acquire a code of prescribed responses for every possible occasion, thus avoiding both thought and the spontaneous expression of

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feeling. Life is a ritual of things to do and things not to do. The æsthete also develops form insofar as it enhances pleasure; but the ritualist cultivates form for its own sake. Here belong the old fashioned English gentlemen and their servants who gave a picturesque touch to English life in the nineteenth century, and naval and military officers who are permitted to think little and feel less but who must act and act quickly. "Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do and die."

People of dominant character are, by virtue of their poorly developed intellect, illogical and primitive thinkers. They are often superstitious and believe in supernatural agencies and the divine origin of their mission. Their conception of truth is pragmatic, anything which helps to achieve the dominant purpose. Their affective life is also infantile. They may be given to outbursts of anger, unreasonable fears, and moods of depression or ecstasy; but they usually lack æsthetic appreciation and the finer social feelings and sentiments.

The three types of unbalanced persons have characteristically different attitudes to other people. The intellectualist knows them, understands them cognitively, describes and explains them scientifically, analyses, classifies and pigeon-holes them. The æsthete or temperamentalist is affected

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by other people. He likes or dislikes, loves or hates, appreciates or depreciates them. They arouse his sympathy, antipathy or empathy. He feels with, for or against them, and he does not question why. He accepts or rejects them in accordance with his affective response. The man of will and action uses other people to suit his purposes. He saves or destroys, helps or hinders, educates or exploits, employs or supports them. They stimulate drives and impell action; but they may be souls to save, bodies to keep healthy, cannon fodder for the next war, or cogs in the wheels of industry.

There are other forms of imbalance in which two of the mental aspects of personality are about equally dominant and the third undeveloped. These types may be understood as combinations of the first and second, the first and third, and the second and third described above. They may be popularly and somewhat inaccurately summed up in terms of thinking, feeling and doing, as follows: (1) persons who think and feel, but are weak in purposive activity; (2) persons who think and do, but are lacking in the finer feelings; and (3) persons who feel and do, but are feeble in knowledge and logical thought.

Then there is a form of imbalance in which *physique* is everything and the whole psychologi-

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cal personality relatively undeveloped. Primitive and savage peoples exalt the importance of muscular strength and athletic prowess. The physical aspect looms large also among the lower classes of advanced races. The popular idol is often the victorious gladiator, the toreador, or the prize-fighter. Even among the upper classes, particularly the idle rich, there are people who devote their entire time to "keeping in form," though it would be difficult to say what for.

Only the extreme forms of imbalance have been described, but the lesser degrees are the more common. Perfect balance is of course rarely found. The form of imbalance or balance is determined mainly by the educational aims and standards of the home and school and by semi-conscious national ideals. Hence these differences in type are primarily individual rather than sexual or racial; though certain national trends are possible because of the influence of national traditions. For the same reason these trends are likely to be more manifest among the cultured classes of the population.

It is the writer's opinion, expressed with full cognizance of the fallacious and misleading nature of such generalizations, that certain national trends are readily observable. The Germans emphasize and cultivate intellect to a greater extent



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than temperament and character; the English stress and develop character to the relative neglect of intellect and temperament; while the southern Latins, Italian and Spanish, are probably more highly developed along temperamental lines. The Americans cultivate intellect and purposive activity, but neglect form in behavior and affective refinement; while the Frenchman of culture seems to be the best example of a well-rounded personality with cognition, affection, conation and form equally prominent in the total configuration.

### *Organization of Personality*

The meaning of organization and its rôle in intellect, temperament and character have been discussed in preceding chapters, where it was shown that development of any one of this triad involves components and processes of the other two. Organization means the formation of more and more complex patterns in the configuration of the total personality. It implies the formation of associative bonds, the integration of parts, the unification of diversity. It is an achievement dependent upon intelligence, experience, training, and the drive towards unity in development. Organization is concerned in balance, for lack of balance means in part poor organization of certain components or aspects. Thus, the intellec-

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tualist has badly organized affects and impulses, while the æsthete has poorly organized thought and action.

The beginning of psychophysiological organization is the neural integration involved in simple responses to stimulation. But the original neural integration becomes more complicated. The simple elements or neurons are associated into neurograms or neural patterns, and these in turn are connected in the formation of a hierarchy of ever increasing complexity. This development is paralleled on the psychological side by the formation of co-ordinated patterns of behavior, constellations of ideas, compound affects and impulses, interests and aversions, sentiments and purposes; and these are all intermingled and interlinked in that growing hierarchy of knowledge, sentiment, purpose and behavior, which is the personality.

At some stage in the growth of this organization the personality becomes conscious of itself. The child begins to feel that "I am I" and that I am the same I today as yesterday. The awareness of personal identity is dependent upon organization as well as upon certain relatively permanent components previously mentioned; and this consciousness of self may be lost through the breaking down of the organization in major mental diseases or in hysterical dissociation.

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Organization of personality is achieved through the overcoming of regressive and resisting forces. It is attained and maintained through the continuous *resolution of conflict*, which is a normal phenomenon in the process of development. It is held in relatively unstable equilibrium, always breaking down and being built anew. The recurring conflicts prevent the organization from solidifying, and if adequately resolved give the personality greater breadth and adaptability.

But incompatible ideas, inharmonious feelings and sentiments, and antagonistic drives and purposes are not always readily brought together. The conflict may persist with its consequent worry, anxiety and restlessness; or it may be inadequately solved through repression or dissociation. The conflicting experiences are pushed out of consciousness and split off from the organization, or split off and kept in water-tight compartments of the mind. Repression may then result in over-compensation, the appearance in consciousness or behavior of the very opposite of what has been repressed.

If ideas are not associated and subsumed under some logical guiding principle, thinking is likely to be irrational, irrelevant, and perhaps incoherent. If feelings and emotions, interests and aversions are not integrated and subordinated to some major sentiment, the affective life remains more

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or less variable, unstable and spasmodic. And if impulses are not co-ordinated into the major drive of a dominant purpose, character lacks force and control. Furthermore, if the three aspects are not involved and interwoven in mental states and processes at every level of development, the personality lacks unity and power. The degree of organization is a measure of the strength of the personality.

There are marked individual differences in the *integration* or organization of personality. The integrated person thinks, feels and acts in unison. His thought is clear, his affective life stable, his impulses directed, and his activity purposive. He may be either broad or narrow, but he must be fairly well balanced if the whole personality is highly organized. The poorly integrated person is illogical, unstable and uncontrolled. His thoughts, feelings and actions are piecemeal and unpredictable. He too may be broad or narrow in mental content, but he is certain to lack balance, since some aspects are sure to be more developed than others. Poor integration of personality may be due to failure to develop, as for instance in feeble-mindedness; or to breaking down of the organization, as in the depersonalization resulting from mental disease and dissociation.

The *dissociation* of personality may result in

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fragmentation or in massive splitting. The former is a complete shattering of the personality, which is manifested in various forms of incoherence. It occurs in extreme degree in dementia præcox, which is characterized by desultory thought, discordant feeling, unexpected behavior, and general intrapsychic ataxia. Bleuler has therefore called this disease "schizophrenia" which means splitting of the mind.<sup>1</sup> Similar schizoid tendencies are to be found in some persons who are not mentally diseased.

The massive splitting means the cleavage of the mind into larger parts. This phenomenon is found in varying degrees in different personalities, and in extreme form constitutes hysteria. Practically no person is without dissociated parts. These parts may be simple sensory or motor processes, ideas, affects, impulses, or more complex sentiments and abilities. The split-off parts themselves have different degrees of organization, independent functioning, and accessibility to consciousness.

The dissociation of the simpler components and processes was referred to in previous chapters. The different degrees of complexity of the split-off parts requires further consideration. In the first place, these parts may be poorly organized but nevertheless capable of independent

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<sup>1</sup>Eugen Bleuler, *A Textbook of Psychiatry*, Macmillan, 1924.



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activity and overt expression. For instance, in simple automatic writing, the hand moves involuntarily but writes merely disconnected words or phrases; and in crystal gazing a similar manifestation of relatively simple dissociated processes may occur. The subject on gazing fixedly at a ball of glass may perceive objects, persons or scenes in the glass. These hallucinations are usually dissociated memories becoming accessible to consciousness under unusual conditions.

But the dissociated parts may be more highly integrated and organized into complexes, which are however not yet sufficiently complicated to constitute a separate personality. Nevertheless, ideas are unconsciously elaborated and may be expressed in automatic writing as meaningful and novel compositions. Crystal visions, if they occur, are more complicated and may also be novel in the sense that they are reconstructed out of elements from past experience. Most spiritualistic mediums have about this degree of elaboration of the dissociated processes. Hence, in their automatic speech or writing they often produce apparently new material, and usually succeed in deceiving themselves as well as others regarding the origin of the novel ideas.

Finally, the dissociated components and processes may be sufficiently numerous and well or-

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ganized to constitute another more or less independent personality. This other personality may exist co-consciously, or the two may alternate in their control of the important functions of speech and locomotion. For neurologically, these personalities must be understood as more or less independent organizations of neural patterns in the same brain. There may, of course, be more than two such personalities associated with the same organism. These different selves may have different moral qualities, as in the classical example of "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." Many cases of multiple and alternating personality have been described, and a number of books have been written on the subject. So it need not be further considered here.

The lesser degrees of multiple and alternating personality are quite common. Some persons have different selves that appear on different occasions, for instance, a self revealed at home, a self expressed in business relations, and a self manifested in the club or fraternity. Such selves are all readily accessible to consciousness and merely change with changing conditions or moods. The changes may involve a partial breaking up and rearrangement of the organization, that is, a repersonalization.

The *repersonalizations* that occur as a person passes from one mood to another are of special

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interest. In a depressed mood, there are not only feelings of sadness and utter futility but also ideas and purposes congruous with the feelings; while in an exalted mood there are feelings of pleasure and ecstasy associated with a totally different set of ideas, impulses and desires. A similar change of personality is observable in physical illness. The mood, point of view and outlook may alter beyond recognition. Repersonalization may be produced artificially in hypnosis. The mental life becomes dissociated and reorganized along entirely different lines. The hypnotic organization is a narrow one excluding important elements of the personality. It is similar to the organizations of dual personality and other forms of hysteria. The gradual transformation of personality during the course of life and in paranoia likewise involves a slow form of repersonalization.

Some people are much more subject to depersonalization and repersonalization than others in whom the organization is more stable. People who readily repersonalize are probably also easily hypnotized and subject to suggestive influences. A suggestion aims to dissociate and inhibit counter impulses and opposing ideas, and a suggestible person is therefore one who is readily dissociated and repersonalized. But at the same time people of this type are adaptable and adjust quickly and

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easily to changing conditions. They are chameleon-like, variable and unreliable, but perpetually interesting.

### *Consciousness of Personality*

No one is ever aware of his total personality. At any given moment the greater proportion of the components and processes are outside of consciousness. Some of these unconscious parts easily become conscious, while others never enter consciousness at all; and furthermore some of them belong to the main organization of personality, while others are dissociated from it. The relation of the simpler components and processes to consciousness was considered in previous chapters, but some additional remarks regarding the more complex processes and relations are necessary.

There are individual differences in the nature of the parts or aspects of personality which are readily accessible to consciousness. For instance, some persons are mainly *cognitively conscious*. They have keen perception and observation of the world about them. They are sensorially alert, seeing all, hearing all, and missing nothing that can be sensed and perceived. They would probably make good detectives and newspaper reporters. Or they may be more conscious of the ideational part of cognition. They are aware of

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the chains of association, the logical sequences of reasoning and the flights of imagination. They have vivid memories and are good story-tellers and entertainers.

Other people become *affectively conscious* with great ease. They are intensely aware of the faintest emotional responses. Likes and dislikes loom larger in their minds than the things or persons observed, or the ideas associated with them. They are preoccupied and absorbed by delight or distress, annoyance or satisfaction, disgust or thrill, rather than by perceptions, ideas or their own motives.

Still others easily become *conatively conscious*. They know the primitive nature of the drives underlying their purposes. They have insight into their own impulses and motives, and are therefore not given to rationalization. They know themselves better than the external world which consequently affects them little. This type of insight is uncommon and difficult to achieve because of the puritanical moral values that prevent acceptance of human nature as such and put a premium upon unconscious hypocrisy.

People also differ in the *degree* to which they are or can become conscious of their total personalities. Some have great breadth of conscious-



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ness and easy access to many unconscious parts of themselves. They are perceptually alert, aware of their own trains of thought and affective responses, and conscious of their impulses and motives. They are easily psychoanalysed and made still more aware of their own mental processes. Others have subliminal impressions, unconscious ideation, vague feelings and drives, and automatic behavior; and at the extreme are the human Robots, who "live and move and have their being" in complete mental darkness, as for example in somnambulism, fugue, amnesia, and loss of personal identity.

The unconscious parts of the personality may nevertheless form part of the main organization. Subliminal impressions and unconscious affects may lead to adequate behavior responses; unconscious thinking may terminate in the solution of a problem or the production of a literary composition; and the energy of unconscious drives may be utilized in conscious purposes. Strength of personality is thus possible with a low degree of consciousness and insight, though breadth and tolerance are sure to be lacking.

But the unconscious parts of the personality are frequently split off from the main organization. The dissociated parts may then function in-

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dependently, and may be organized into unconscious complexes and separate personalities, as previously mentioned. These complexes and split-off personalities are organized systems of ideas, impulses and affects; and they may express themselves in symptoms or in behavior at variance with the purposes of the main personality. The two organizations come into conflict with each other. Thus the total personality loses in strength and effective drive.

To say that part of the personality is unconscious is not equivalent to admitting the existence of an unconscious mind. The nature of the unconscious is a separate question from the fact of its existence. The unconscious part of the personality may be either mental or physical, or both mental and physical. The writer's view is that it is primarily neurological, that is, a matter of neural traces, neural patterns, neural energy, and dissociated neural systems which may be dormant or active. Some of these dissociated systems with considerable independent organization may also be conscious systems, in which case there would be two or more consciousnesses associated with the same organism, a main consciousness associated with the neural system controlling speech, locomotion and the major functions, and a co-ordinate

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consciousness or co-consciousness associated with each of the other systems. Thus, there is no unconscious mind, but there may be separate consciousnesses correlated with separate neural organizations in the same brain.

### *Mode of Expression*

As previously pointed out, the affects may be expressed in skeletal responses or in cortical activity, that is, ideation; the drives are manifested in various patterns of behavior or thought, and the ideas themselves may lead to feeling or action. The overt expression of personality as a whole takes the form of speech, writing and behavior, which reveal the underlying thoughts, sentiments and purposes. It is the outward manifestation of content, balance and organization; and it is dependent upon inherited capacities, acquired associations and habits, the direction of attention or libido, and the nature of the major sentiment and dominant purpose. Some personalities are expressive and self-revealing, while others are placid, unresponsive and enigmatical.

In mode of expression the personality may be introverted or extraverted, egoistic or altruistic, theoretical or practical, conservative or radical, primitive or sublimated, repressed or overcom-

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pensated, and so forth. The psychological types of personality so frequently mentioned are either particular modes of expression or other special combinations of content, balance and organization. Some of these types are described in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Psychological Types

**I**T is doubtful what meaning is to be ascribed to the word "type" as used in psychology. The term is usually employed uncritically and in a vague sense. In biology a type is a "plan of structure" or an individual or group characterized by the plan. Thus we speak of vertebrate and mammalian types. In the animal kingdom there are many such types but in human personality there appears to be only one "plan of structure," one type in this sense.

It was previously pointed out that statistical evidence reveals unimodal distribution of traits and abilities. There is only one central tendency or mode in a distribution curve, and deviations in both directions therefrom. Similarly, there is only one plan of structure in human personality, and deviations of many degrees in many directions therefrom. In other words there are no separate psychological types but only individual differences.

The types described in this book are therefore merely classes of individuals who have similar characteristics, that is, who deviate from the cen-



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tral tendency in the same way. They are limiting cases, and the vast majority of human beings come between the extremes described and are combinations of the so-called types. For instance, most persons are neither introverts nor extraverts but ambiverts, just as most people are neither brilliant nor stupid but mediocre. Thus there are no gaps separating one class from another, but rather an infinite variety of personalities arising from the numerous permutations and varying proportions of the constituent components and processes as well as the degree of their organization.

The general plan of structure of personality has been delineated, and individual differences in intellect, temperament, character and total personality have been described. Some of these differences have been referred to as types, for instance, broad and narrow types, controlled and impulsive types, and types of imbalance. A few types described by others have also been mentioned, for example Jaensch's eidetic types, Fourier's polygyne and monogyne, Gross's broad-superficial and narrow-deep types, and Kretschmer's cyclothymes and schizothymes. But there still remain for consideration certain individual differences in personality which are signifi-

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cant for the understanding and appreciation of human nature as a whole.

### *James's Classes of Philosophers*

William James called attention to the fact that a person's philosophical views are biased by his temperament or characterological disposition, and he distinguished two types of philosophers which he called the tender-minded and the tough-minded.<sup>1</sup> He described these types as follows:

| <i>Tender-minded</i> | <i>Tough-minded</i> |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| Rationalistic        | Empiricistic        |
| Intellectualistic    | Sensationalistic    |
| Idealistic           | Materialistic       |
| Optimistic           | Pessimistic         |
| Religious            | Irreligious         |
| Free-willist         | Fatalistic          |
| Monistic             | Pluralistic         |
| Dogmatical           | Sceptical           |

Thus the tender-minded is guided by principles, concepts, and ideals, and seeks for unity in experience. He believes that he is master of his fate, and that there is "some far off divine event to which the whole creation moves." The tough-minded is guided by facts, sensory data, and objective experience, and he is an agnostic on all metaphysical questions. He does not seek for the

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<sup>1</sup>William James, *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking*, Longmans, Green, 1911.

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one in the many, and he believes in the causal determination of all events including human behavior. It is clear that these two types represent the most extreme adherents of two opposite schools of philosophic thought, and that many persons would occupy a middle ground. The description of course applies to other people as well as professional philosophers.

### *Jordon's Types*

A highly interesting description of types is given by Furneaux Jordon.<sup>2</sup> This author contrasts thinking with activity and thus distinguishes two types of people, reflective and active. He then goes on to say that the reflective persons have the more passionate feelings while the active are less passionate. Consequently he has two main types, which he calls reflective more-impassioned, and active less-impassioned. The suggested correlation is interesting, for it is frequently observed that a person who expresses little may feel keenly while a person who responds readily may lack emotion. But the relationship is not an invariable one. Certainly a reflective person may also be deficient in feeling, and doubtless an active person can be passionate. Nevertheless, the types described exist, even though the majority of persons

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<sup>2</sup>F. Jordon, *Character as Seen in Body and Parentage*, London, 1890.

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fall between the two extremes, as Jordon himself admits, or possess different combinations of the traits in question. Jordon describes men and women of the two types separately and at length, but only a sketchy outline of the salient features regardless of sex is given here.

Persons of the *reflective impassioned* type think rather than act, but they nevertheless feel deeply. They diffuse an atmosphere of repose, but passion lurks under the surface. They love too much and they hate too much. They are usually appreciative and compassionate, and are the same whether at home or in social circles. Their morality is likely to be unconventional and based on feeling. They reflect too much to be confident that they possess the whole truth, and they therefore never persecute others nor become missionaries or martyrs in a cause.

People of the *active less-impassioned* type act rather than think, but they lack depth of feeling. They are quick and opportune rather than consistent or persistent. But deep passion is absent. "Love is simply preference, hatred merely dislike, and jealousy only injured pride." They are much concerned with the little things of life, "the daily round, the common task," and the social duty. They are described as "idea-less, emotion-less, restless, and spotless." They are likely to be

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critical and fault-finding at home, but kindly, generous, and hospitable in business or social life. They believe in society and are conventional in morality, for they "never enquire and they never doubt."

### *Jung's Introverts and Extraverts*

Jung has distinguished between two opposite attitudes or directions of libido, namely, introversion and extraversion and he also discriminates four basic psychological functions, thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuition.<sup>3</sup> Feeling includes emotion, sensation includes perception, and intuition may be taken to mean unconscious perception. Any one of the four functions may be dominant and may be combined with either direction of the libido or interest. Hence eight types of persons are possible, namely, thinking introverts and extraverts, feeling introverts and extraverts, sensation introverts and extraverts, and intuition introverts and extraverts.

It is not our intention to describe Jung's eight types. The introversion and extraversion of special mental processes have been referred to in previous chapters of this book. Here are sketched only the extraverted and the introverted personality as a whole. It will again be obvious that

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<sup>3</sup>O. G. Jung, *Psychological Types*, Kegan Paul, 1923.



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the majority of people are neither one nor the other of these two extremes. They either occupy a middle ground or swing from one extreme to the other.

“An *extravert* thinks, feels, and acts in relation to the object or situation. He is determined exclusively by the external world. His thinking refers to reality, his feeling is influenced by conventional standards, and his behavior pertains to practical situations. An extravert is thus a conventional man of affairs, and a defender of things as they are, in short a ‘Babbitt.’ He is usually economically and politically successful and socially approved. His weakness is that he is too much influenced and determined by external factors and thus loses his individuality. He is an enemy to true social progress; and although interested in applied science, he is likely to scorn search for knowledge for its own sake. An extreme form of extraversion is found in hysteria and in the manic-depressive psychosis.

“An *introvert* thinks, feels, and acts in relation to his own mental processes. His thinking is an elaboration of his own ideas and is determined chiefly from within. His feelings and actions are likewise subjectively determined, and therefore may not conform to conventional standards. The introvert is thus likely to be radical in thought,

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feeling, and action. He is an idealist and a dreamer; he believes in political and social reform, and may write books on the 'ideal state.' He is not necessarily egotistical nor even selfish as is sometimes supposed. In fact, he may be extremely altruistic. The inward direction of interest is not necessarily a direction towards the ego, but rather towards the unhampered elaboration of mental processes. He is usually a friend of social progress, reform, and pure science, but he is likely to be impractical in carrying out his plans. His danger is that he may become too completely divorced from reality. His thought may merely reflect an ideal world and not the world in which we actually live. An extreme form of introversion or flight from reality occurs in psychasthenia and in dementia præcox."<sup>4</sup>

### *Spranger's Life Forms*

At the present time psychology, particularly in Germany, is under the influence of a strong movement directed against the analytic psychology of elements and bonds and towards the study of human nature as a whole in terms of configurations, meanings, values or purposes. This movement embraces the different points of view and

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<sup>4</sup>Quoted from the present writer's *Psychology, Normal and Abnormal*, Appleton, 1930, pp. 457-458.

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methods designated by the terms *Gestalt*, *Ganzheit*, *Struktur*, and *Geisteswissenschaft*.

It is not our purpose to enter into a discussion of this important trend in scientific and philosophic thought, nor to differentiate the points of view included therein. Suffice it to say that the movement has rendered a distinct service to psychology in emphasizing the novelty and uniqueness of totalities, even if parts cannot be disregarded. The personality must be studied as a whole in so far as that is possible, but its components must be studied also. The whole is certainly greater than the sum of its parts, but nevertheless it can be completely understood only through the study of these parts. Both analysis and synthesis are essential for an adequate understanding of human nature.

Eduard Spranger is an outstanding representative of this movement as "*Geisteswissenschaftliche*" or "cultural science" psychology. He believes that the "structure or meaningful total content" of personality is of first importance, and he attempts to isolate the primary evaluating tendencies or attitudes of the human psyche. He distinguishes six of these attitudes, interests or purposes, which exist in all men but in different proportions. The six attitudes are the theoretic, the economic, the æsthetic, the religious, the

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social, and the political. The first four belong to man as an individual, the last two are grounded in his social nature. The dominant attitude determines the life-form of the individual, and there are therefore six life-forms (*lebensformen*) or types of men.<sup>5</sup>

The *theoretic* life-form is characterized by the dominance of cognition and the disregard of affectivity. The main aim is truth in the sense of general objective validity, and to this end feeling and æsthetic imagination are cast aside. "Whenever this attitude aiming at objectivity, the attitude which identifies and differentiates, generalizes and individualizes, conjoins and separates, reasons and systematizes, whenever this attitude becomes dominant, it is self-evident that all subjective relations such as: feeling and desiring, attraction and repulsion, fearing and hoping must sink into the background."

The theorist is in the social field an individualist. "His coolly objective mental attitude is antithetical to sympathetic or empathic relations with others." "Neither blood relation nor an altruistic desire to help ties him to mankind." And "the only kind of community which is in accordance with his nature is that of convictions held in com-

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<sup>5</sup>Eduard Spranger, *Types of Men*, tr. by P. J. W. Pigors, Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1928.

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mon." His understanding of other people is purely intellectual and without intuitive appreciation. He is usually cosmopolitan and radical, and believes that education is the only road to progress. But the more advanced theorist may be aristocratic, and sceptical as to the educability of the masses. His morals are based upon an ethics of consistency, universal principles, and "categorical imperatives," which permit of no exception. Everything may be sacrificed to truth. In religion, either he is an agnostic or his God is the Absolute Mind of the metaphysician, a rational God for whom his love is at best an *amor intellectualis*.

The theoretic attitude may take different forms, for instance empiricism, rationalism and criticism. The empiricist stresses facts and depends upon observation. The rationalist develops concepts into which the facts must fit. The one is inductive, the other deductive. The critical attitude is a balanced combination of the other two; for the criticist must evolve the categories best suited to the facts.

The *economic* life-form is based upon self-preservation which demands the satisfaction of needs. Natural products and forces that satisfy needs are said to have utility. "The economic man is, in general, he who in all the relations of life prefers utility to all other values. He sees every-



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thing as a means for self-preservation, an aid in the struggle for existence and a possibility to render life pleasant. He economizes goods and forces, time and space in order to gain the maximum of useful effect for himself." Thus the economic attitude is manifested not only in the production and distribution of wealth but also in the entire field of technology and applied science.

The economic type regards knowledge from his purposive viewpoint. "Unapplied knowledge is for him merely unnecessary ballast." So he hastens to apply unverified scientific principles to inadequately analysed and poorly understood practical situations. Thus he is forever in conflict with the true scientist. His conception of truth is pragmatic, that which works or has practical worth; and he lacks æsthetic appreciation, though he may pose as a patron of art for economic or social reasons. He confuses beauty with luxury.

The economic man regards other human beings as producers or consumers, workers or enjoyers, sellers or buyers. He may be interested in social reform or philanthropy, but only from economic motives. His morals are strictly utilitarian and his religion mammonistic. If he worships the traditional God, he regards Him as the giver of good gifts, the protector of fields and factories. He is conservative, believing in private property

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and competition, though he may be a vociferous advocate of co-operation if he is likely to gain thereby. He may be mainly a producer, that is a worker; or mainly a consumer, that is an enjoyer of the products of labor. He may be a saver or a spendthrift, a miser or a prodigal. But in any case his whole life is dominated by monetary values. "Getting and spending *he* lays waste *his* powers."

The *æsthetic* attitude is undesirous and contemplative. Primary contact with the world is passionate and teems with the struggle for existence. The *æsthetic* attitude is secondary. Experience is transformed by feeling and imagination, until a psychic distance is achieved from which "pain is just as welcome as joy, suffering just as blessed as happiness;" for all experiences are assimilated as personal possessions and woven into the fabric of the growing personality. Thus the *æsthetic* person "looks on at the moving picture of life not reflecting, but empathically contemplating and enjoying it."

The *æsthetic* attitude implies "the formed expression of an impression." Thus, there are three aspects of *æsthetic* experience, impression, expression and form, and three *æsthetic* types dependent upon the predominant aspect. The impressionists of life are hungry for experience and may become mere seekers of new thrills. The

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expressionists color every impression with a subjective tint. But the men of "inner form" are balanced in impression and expression. In them there is an inner unfolding, a self-development. "They make out of their lives works of art. They are themselves form, beauty, harmony, and proportion."

The æsthetic type need not be a creative artist nor have any artistic skill; but he will appreciate the beautiful in all its forms. Beauty is the highest value of life, and "the original type of beauty is humanity; the human body, the human soul." The æsthetic person is sociable but not altruistic. People are objects of æsthetic and erotic enjoyment, but eroticism is not mere desire. It is an all-pervading inner experience arising out of the completion of a spiritual totality. The æsthete is fundamentally an individualist and may be an anarchist. He demands liberty for self-development. His morals are based on an ethics of self-realization and the golden mean, and his religion is pantheistic but with an appreciation of beauty in ceremonial. His idea of truth is harmony; and he would agree with Keats that "beauty is truth," and "A thing of beauty is a joy forever."

The *social* life-form is based upon love, not erotic love, but the "inclination towards another person for the sake of his value possibilities."

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Such a love regards other people as life-forms of inherent worth, as souls to be aided or saved. The social type also has an indirect attitude towards life. "He does not live immediately through himself but in others," and in surrender and self-sacrifice he achieves his own value and self-enrichment. His love may be narrow or broad in its embrace, extending to few or to many, and he may put the emphasis on loving or on being loved; but in any case love is the greatest thing in life.

The social type differs from the æsthetic because "his love is directed not to the charm and beauty of the other, not even to the beauty of his soul, but to the wholly unformed soul because of its value possibilities." A teacher of the æsthetic type enriches himself in contact with the beauty and grace of youth; but a teacher of the social type turns to the wholly undeveloped, even to the warped and defective, and desires only to elevate and help them.

The social type sees in the living soul the highest value and regards loyalty as the greatest virtue. He finds it difficult to be just or truthful, for justice and truth are cold, detached, theoretic ideals. He is in conflict with the economic attitude, for self-sacrifice and self-preservation have opposite meanings. He is the only true philanthropist, and "anyone who, in doing good, is conscious of

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himself and his influence is not a pure social type, still less is he who gives only from vanity." He leans to communism, and acknowledges no power save the "power of love." His religion is the experience that "God is love," and love is the meaning of life.

The *political* life-form is dominated by the "will to power," that is, the will "to posit one's own value direction in the other." This drive for self-assertion is not limited to the narrow field of politics. "All of human life is shot through with relations of power and competition," but "this side of life is seen most clearly in the organized collective power of the state." Hence the man of power is called the political type, although his influence may extend over small or large groups, and may be exerted in various regions of human relations.

The political type makes all other value regions of life serve his will. "Knowledge is power," and truth is only a means to an end. Rhetoric takes the place of scientific thought, and reality is cloaked by pretension. The economic and æsthetic values are likewise subordinated to the political. Wealth is a political means and æsthetic splendor a symbol of power. The ethics of the man of power is an ethics of inner freedom and self-control. "Might is right." His God is a God of power, a



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creator of the universe *ex nihilo* by a free act of will. And his state is a political hierarchy with graded ranks of power and prestige.

The *religious* life-form seeks the highest value in life and attempts to relate the specific value experiences to a total world meaning. "God is that final being who is the meaning of the world, or is created mentally as that which endows it with meaning." The religious attitude is thus the search for a meaningful unity among the conflicting values and experiences of life. The theoretic, economic, æsthetic, social and political values gain significance and harmony only in relation to this highest value; and "morality is the harmony of the individual with the highest world-meaning which he is capable of grasping." This search for an absolute unity of values may be called mysticism.

There are three types of religious men depending upon the relation between the one-sided values of life and the highest value. The immanent mystic affirms all the values of life. They have a positive relation to the absolute. God is in all. The transcendental mystic denies all the values of life. God is over all, and is comprehended in "absolute contrast with all the special meaning forms of the world." The third type both affirms and denies, and various sub-types arise depending

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upon the interrelation of the affirmation and negation of life's values.

The six life-forms described are extreme or idealized types. In actual life mixed types are more common, and some attitudes combine more readily than others. For instance, the æsthetic and theoretic attitudes do not conflict so much as the æsthetic and economic, the social and religious not so much as the social and theoretic, and so on. Spranger arranges the life-forms or values into a hierarchy in the descending order: religious, social and political, theoretic and æsthetic, and economic. Others may disagree with this arrangement; but no one can deny that many present world problems have arisen through the elevation of the lowest, economic value to first place in the scale.

### *Abnormal and Pathological Types*

An abnormal type is merely an unusual type, an extreme deviation from the average or central tendency. A pathological type is an abnormal type due to disease. There is no gap separating normal and abnormal persons. They grade into each other by imperceptible degrees. And it is likewise difficult to distinguish between abnormalities that are constitutional in nature and those that are pathological. In any case the abnormal

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may be regarded as a caricature of the normal, and so a description of abnormal types will throw light on personality in general. It is not proposed to give a complete inventory of the psychological symptomatology of mental diseases, but merely to describe the significant features of the more common psychotic and psychoneurotic personalities and indicate their importance for the understanding of human nature.

A person with *manic-depressive* psychosis has primarily an affective disorder, marked by emotional oscillations and a tendency to remission and recurrence. His outstanding characteristic is an alternation from depressed to euphoric or exalted moods. Each phase may last for days, weeks, or months; but the change of phase is accompanied by a complete transformation of the personality, a repersonalization. All the mental contents change in conformity with the change of mood, but there is no lasting intellectual disintegration.

The manic phase is suggestive of alcoholic intoxication. There are flight of ideas, hyperactivity, exaltation, self-assertion, self-display and self-confidence. The depressed phase is characterized by difficulty in thinking, psychomotor retardation, unpleasant affects, self-abasement, feelings of inferiority, fear and apprehension. This disease may be regarded as an exaggeration of the cyclo-

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thymic temperament described by Jelliffe<sup>6</sup> and by Kretschmer<sup>7</sup> and mentioned in previous chapters of this book. The cyclothymic temperament is one of the more common affective anomalies, and according to Kretschmer is usually associated with the pyknic body-type.

The *schizophrenic* personality is characterized by a general dissociation, a disintegration of the organization. This dissociation is more general and complete than in hysteria. It is a shattering or "fragmentation of the psyche," a depersonalization. It manifests itself in the intellect by incoherence of ideas, perceptual inadequacy and a tendency towards hallucinations and delusions. It results in deterioration of the affective life with consequent apathy and loss of interest, variability and instability, or unusual affective responses and emotional flurries. It is revealed in behavior, which is either impulsive or blocked, hyperactive or inactive, and always manneristic and unpredictable. The vital energy of the patient is directed to no end, his impulses are out of control, he becomes hypersuggestible or negative, and he loses contact with external reality.

This disintegration is a slow and gradual process, and it may occur to a less degree in men-

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<sup>6</sup>S. E. Jelliffe, *Cyclothymia*, Nervous and Mental Disease Mon. series, no. 9, 1912.

<sup>7</sup>Ernst Kretschmer, *Physique and Character*, Kegan Paul, 1925.

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tal health, as for instance, in fatigue, physical illness, reveries and dreams. Schizophrenia is symptomatologically merely an exaggeration of the "shut-in" personality described by Hoch,<sup>8</sup> and the schizoid or schizothymic personality which Kretschmer associates with the asthenic physique. This schizoid personality must not be identified with the introverted personality of Jung. The former is dissociated, while the latter is usually more highly organized than the personality of the extravert. The introvert withdraws from external reality in the elaboration of his own mental processes, while the schizothyme is divorced from reality through the devitalizing results of dissociation.

The central feature of the *hysterical* personality may be regarded as liability to dissociation; but the dissociation, when it occurs, is a massive splitting as distinguished from the shattering of schizophrenia. Constellations of ideas, emotionally toned complexes, systems of impulses, or purposive activities become emancipated from personal consciousness and may function independently. They as readily become reunited and others in turn are split off. Thus the personality is in a state of flux, breaking down and forming

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<sup>8</sup>August Hoch, *Constitutional Factors in the Dementia Præcox Group*, Nervous and Mental Disease Mon. series, no. 9, 1912.



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anew, depersonalizing and repersonalizing, always exhibiting new aspects, different facets. It is protean-like and continually interesting, but at the same time perplexing and unreliable. A person of this type responds like a chameleon to objective conditions, and reflects rather than creates a social atmosphere.

One of the most striking traits of the hysterical personality is suggestibility, which is directly dependent upon the underlying dissociability. Symptoms are easily produced by suggestion and can be removed in the same way. Thus cures which seem miraculous may be effected; the blind see, the lame walk, and the dumb speak. All the other varying symptoms may likewise be understood in relation to the dissociation. In extreme cases the person is subject to anesthetics (such as functional blindness and deafness), contractures and functional paralyses, amnesias, multiple personality, loss of identity, somnambulisms and fugues. The affective life is changeable, sometimes apparently mature, but at other times childish, unstable, spasmodic and uncontrolled, constantly demanding sympathy and attention.

This type of personality exists in innumerable degrees among the general population, and only the extreme forms are definitely diagnosed as hysteria. It must not be confused or identified

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with the malingering personality. A *malingerer* is one who pretends illness in order to avoid a disagreeable duty or a difficult task. He lies, and his motive is well-known to himself. A hysterical person may develop a similar symptom with the same motive, but he is not conscious of his motive or its relation to the symptom. The motive is dissociated. Thus, a person who pretends he has a headache or a pain in the back in order to avoid a social obligation is a malingerer, but a person who on such an occasion actually develops an ache or pain is hysterical. In the latter case the motive unconsciously produces the symptom and thereby prevents the necessity for lying.

The *paranoid* personality is characterized by the gradual development of a stable system of delusions without noticeable intellectual deterioration or disorder of feeling or behavior. The delusions begin in suspicion and conceit and grow insidiously into ideas of persecution and grandeur. The entire mental content becomes organized about these delusions, and there is thus a slow but definite transformation of the personality. This type represents a complete negation of the social type described by Spranger; for the paranoiac is a misanthrope and an egotist. The hatred of the misanthrope may spring from disappointed love and a compensatory denial of all value possibilities

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in others; and his delusion of grandeur may be an over-compensation for inferiority and failure.

Paranoiacs may be harmless people. Many cranks, fanatics, and people with missions or grievances belong to this type. But they become a real danger if they turn upon their supposed persecutors. They frequently write books and polemical articles on obsolete, occult or esoteric subjects. They create new religions and strange philosophical systems, and provide mental pabulum for the "intellectual underworld." Their writings are usually incoherent and meaningless, but with a superficial appearance of logic; and the underlying emotional tone indicates the affective origin of the beliefs expressed. Examples may frequently be found among letters to the editors of the daily press.

The *psychasthenic* personality is characterized by obsessions and by feelings of unreality. The obsessions may be ideas, affects or impulses. The mind is besieged by doubts, scruples or fixed ideas. It is haunted by vague fears or more definite phobias. It is driven by uncontrollable impulses or "manias." The person is also subject to strange feelings of unreality in everything and of personal inadequacy or incompleteness. He is full of doubt, indecision and anxiety regarding even the routine affairs of life. The cause of this pe-

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cular syndrome of symptoms is unknown and a matter of controversy; but it may be a result of repression, which has blocked off a portion of the libido thus reducing the vital energy and the mental grasp. Some of the repressed energy may then become focussed upon symbolic processes producing obsessions. Various degrees of the psychasthenic personality may be found in the daily walks of life, and certain aspects of it are suggestive of Tennyson's description of the "lotus eaters."

The main features of the *neurasthenic* personality are the feeling of fatigue, hypochondria and worry. The subject is always tired. He is more tired in the morning than on going to bed. He takes most of the day to get wakened up and then at night he cannot sleep. This fatigue is also manifested in the mental processes. He is unable to attend or put forth effort. He is hypersensitive, magnifying the little pains and aches of everyday life. He is emotionally inadequate and unstable, and liable to digestive disturbances that seem to have an emotional basis. These symptoms are all such as might occur in actual fatigue.

The neurasthenic worries about everything, his business, his family, his social relations, and particularly his health. He is hypochondriacal, afraid of mental and bodily disease, and is continually

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consulting physicians and having medical examinations. He is thus the prey of quacks and charlatans, who usually find the dreaded diseases and prescribe for them. All the neurasthenic characteristics may be understood as dependent upon lack of vital energy, a de-energization of the organism.

A neurasthenic personality may be a temporary repersonalization following true fatigue or physical illness; but it will be more lasting if dependent upon glandular insufficiency. It is usually related to prolonged mental conflict, in which psycho-neural forces are blocked and energy internally dissipated. Since persistent mental conflict is so common, this type of personality can not be regarded as very abnormal; and some degree of neurasthenia is quite generally found among cultured and intellectual people.

The personality of the *epileptic* also deserves brief mention. Epilepsy is a peculiar disease characterized by recurrent attacks of unconsciousness with or without convulsions. It is not proposed to describe these attacks but rather to depict the epileptic personality as exhibited between the attacks. The epileptic is given to circumstantiality, that is a tendency towards digressions in the train of thought. He lacks a sense of proportion and goes into irrelevant details in conversation. He is



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ego-centric and unmindful of the rights of others, and usually fanatical and incapable of unbiased judgment. Thus religious, political, and military leaders are sometimes epileptics. He is obstinate and irascible, and particularly noted for periodic attacks of grouchiness or ill-humor. He is also liable to automatic and impulsive behavior. It is clear that this type of personality is to be found in many non-epileptic persons, who may therefore be said to have the epileptic diathesis.

Rosanoff has suggested a classification of types and a theory of personality based mainly on experience with abnormal and pathological cases.<sup>9</sup> He classifies abnormal persons into: (a) the anti-social, that is the hysterical, malingering, or criminal type, (b) the cyclothymic, (c) the autistic, that is the schizoid, or "shut-in," and (d) the epileptic type. He regards these types as merely quantitative variations of normal ones. Furthermore, no hard and fast lines can be drawn between these classes. Pure types are the exception, mixed types the rule in both normal and abnormal cases. All normal subjects have within them either manifest or latent antisocial, cyclothymic, autistic, and epileptic tendencies in various degrees. These tendencies may be observed especially in children, but they are normally inhibited to some extent and

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<sup>9</sup>A. J. Rosanoff, *Manual of Psychiatry*, John Wiley, 1927, ch. 25.

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outgrown in the course of development to maturity. The power of inhibition is thus according to Rosanoff the most important differentia of so-called normal people.

### *Other Types and Classifications*

Many interesting types and individuals have been described by literary writers from the days of Theophrastus to the present time. In summarizing his discussion of these literary characterologists, Roback says:

"There are *objective observers* like Theophrastus and to a certain extent La Bruyère, and *subjective depicitors* like most of the British character writers, who took a character as a suitable theme to elaborate epigrammatically, often injecting their own bias into the elaboration. . . . The French character writers, on the other hand, are more realistic, but their delineations are composite portraits, and not sufficiently inclusive. . . .

"Hundreds of characters have been passed in review by these writers, from the most common to the most singular and fantastic, yet if we were to aim at exhaustiveness, that number multiplied by itself would not give a fraction of the possible number of characters, even in our own day, especially if the scope is so broadened as to include considerations of office, circumstances and physical conditions, as well as assumed relationships. . . .

"One cannot afford to dismiss the detached thoughts of these sages from the purview of psy-

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chology only because their authors did not put forth any scientific claims. If they have not worked out their problems, they, at least, have suggested them in the form of stimulating aphorisms. Despite the fact that there is no train of reasoning in these reflections, they nevertheless give evidence of a consistent position in at least one respect, viz. that *amour propre* is the spring of all action, good and bad, and that even the virtues of mankind are born of weakness—not an edifying point of view, to be sure, but one which requires examination, and, because of its widespread influence, it must be discussed rather than ignored.”<sup>10</sup>

Two contrasting *æsthetic attitudes* have been described by Worringer and designated empathy (Einfühlung) and abstraction, or “feeling into” and “withdrawing.”<sup>11</sup> The former transfers psychic content to the object and animates it, the latter attempts to withdraw from the object and to counteract its effect. In the former the beautiful is that into which one can feel oneself, the natural, specific and concrete; in the latter the beautiful is that which affords repose from a confused and too-animated world, the abstract and symbolic. Jung describes persons with these attitudes as follows:

“The man with the abstracting attitude finds himself in a terribly animated world, which seeks

<sup>10</sup>A. A. Roback, *The Psychology of Character*, Harcourt Brace, 1927, pp. 38-40.

<sup>11</sup>See C. G. Jung, *op. cit.*, ch. 7, for account of Worringer's *Abstraktion und Einfühlung*, 1911.

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to overpower and smother him; he therefore retires himself, so that in himself he may contrive that redeeming formula which can be relied upon to enhance his subjective value to a point where at least it shall be a match for the influence of the object. The man with the feeling-into attitude finds himself on the contrary, in a world that needs his subjective feeling to give it life and soul. Confidingly he bestows his animation upon it, while the abstracting individual retreats mistrustingly before the dæmons of objects, and builds up a protective counterworld with abstract creations."

In his work on great men of science Ostwald described the *classic* and *romantic* types.<sup>12</sup> Persons of the former type seek perfection in achievement and depth in thought. They are slow in their mental processes and mature late. They find it difficult to express themselves, are poor teachers and write without consideration of the requirements of the reader. On the other hand persons of the romantic type seek variety and originality in achievement and breadth in development. They are rapid in their mental reactions and mature early. They express themselves readily in language, are good teachers, and give clear expositions of their own work.

Ribot distinguished between two main types of character (really personality), the sensitive and

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<sup>12</sup> See C. G. Jung, *op. cit.*, ch. 9, for account of Ostwald's *Großemänner*, 1910.

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the active.<sup>13</sup> The *sensitive* are those in whom feeling and impressionability predominate. The internal neural response is out of proportion to the intensity of the stimulus. The *active* are those in whom energy, will and activity predominate. The neural processes are readily drained into overt action. He also describes an apathetic type with little sensibility and little activity, and various sub-classes and combinations of the main types.

Fouillée adds to Ribot's account an intellectual type with further subdivisions and combinations.<sup>14</sup> Jastrow also adopts Ribot's fundamental distinction of sensitive and active, and develops a classification of temperaments based on the relative strength of these two aspects of the personality.<sup>15</sup> His four types, thus derived, correspond to the four traditional temperaments, but they obviously include more than affective make-up. They are types of personality. The table below gives the four possibilities and the corresponding temperaments, strength being indicated by italics.

|                                  |             |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
| sensitive- <i>active</i>         | sanguine    |
| <i>sensitive</i> -active         | melancholic |
| <i>sensitive</i> - <i>active</i> | choleric    |
| sensitive-active                 | phlegmatic  |

Somewhat similar is the distinction between

<sup>13</sup>Th. Ribot, *The Psychology of the Emotions*, translation, Scribners, 1897.

<sup>14</sup>A. Fouillée, *Tempérament et Caractère*, Paris, 1895.

<sup>15</sup>J. Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, New York, 1915.



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*sensory* and *motor* types which arose out of the reaction time experiment in the laboratory. The sensory type attends to the expected stimulus, the motor type to the intended response. Hence the former reacts more slowly than the latter. It is reasonable to suppose that in life situations the former is likely to be impressed and the latter activated by events.

People are often described as *conservative* or *radical*. Conservatism means acceptance and radicalism rejection of current standards and practices. The former is based upon habit, pleasure in the familiar and fear of the unknown; the latter upon curiosity, love of the novel and revolt from authority. The person who revolts and rejects may turn to some new untried plan or to the "good old days." Psychologically, the radical and the reactionary have something in common, but the latter is less venturesome and has more desire for security. Most people are neither wholly conservative nor wholly radical, but rather conservative in some things and radical in others.

In the first place, a person may be conservative or radical in thought, feeling, or action. Theoretical and intellectual types are frequently radical in thought but restricted in action. Radicalism in action is more difficult. It comes into conflict with established customs, and it is always easier to do

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the "done thing," to float with the stream. Radicalism in feeling means that the affects are determined by subjective conditions rather than by objective standards. For instance, æsthetic appreciation does not follow accepted artistic rules and conventions. Secondly, a person may be radical in certain fields and not in others. He may for example be radical in economics but not in religion, or radical in business but not in politics. Even the most radical person is likely to have some conservatism. He may be too conservative to change his own mind or habits of life.

The distinction between *egoists* and *altruists*, the self-centered and the other centered, requires similar qualifications. A person may be altruistic in thought, feeling or action. He may merely think about other people; he may only feel with or for them, that is, be sympathetic but not helpful; or he may actually help and protect them without much feeling. Of course some people are altruistic in all ways. It is often argued that there is no such thing as altruism, since all behavior is egoistically motivated. But even if this be so, it is nevertheless true that some behavior regardless of its ulterior motive has an altruistic social significance, for it is helpful in its end results. And it is possible to distinguish between persons who get pleasure or satisfaction in thinking about, feel-

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ing with or acting for others, and those who do not.

Another type frequently mentioned in daily conversation are the *snobs*. They have been well portrayed by noted literary writers and do not need further description, but rather psychological analysis. In general, snobbery may be understood as a form of overcompensation for inferiority. The snob exaggerates his assets in order to conceal his liabilities. He cloaks his weakness in a robe of pretentiousness, and then mistakes the disguise for the reality. He lives in a world of make-believe, and belittles all who do not affect the same pretence.

Hence, there are many kinds of snobs depending upon the nature of the inferiority and the compensating affectation. The intellectual snobs exaggerate the importance of knowledge and rational thought of which they possess a modicum, and belittle practical skill and social grace in which they are deficient. The artistic snobs exalt æsthetic appreciation, artistic skill, and knowledge of the fine arts, and disparage intellectual and practical achievements. The social snobs have been most frequently described. Some of them magnify the importance of wealth because it is their chief asset; some emphasize rank and social form, because they are mediocre in thought and feeling; and

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others stress pedigree and family connections, because they have no outstanding merits in themselves.

The snobs always look down upon people who do not assume the same pose. The sporting snobs, who display athletic prowess, scorn those who do not play their games. The book snobs, who are always discussing the latest "book of the month," depreciate those who have not read it. The travel snobs, who talk incessantly about foreign countries, slight the stay-at-homes. The religious snobs, who glory in their own sect or creed, believe all others are eternally damned. And the illness snobs, who boast about their disqualifications, snub the healthier folk who have not enjoyed the fashionable disease.

A number of writers have described *masculine* and *feminine* types.<sup>16</sup> They seem to assume that certain mental qualities are inherent in men and others in women. This is a very questionable assumption. Mental characteristics are not sex linked; and the psychological differences between men and women are determined mainly by training and social tradition. There is not a single trait commonly designated feminine that under different *mores* and climes has not actually been or might not be masculine. Even courting and

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<sup>16</sup> See A. A. Roback, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-233, for an account of Apfelbach's *Der Aufbau des Charakters*, 1924.

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other sexual behavior is determined by social custom more than by original nature. We are all prone to regard the *mores* of our own time and place as somehow natural, intrinsic and fundamentally right; and every man tends to regard the woman he loves as the ideal feminine type no matter what her qualities may be.

When educational standards and moral codes were different, men and women were different; but with the passing years and the changing ideals they have grown more alike; and "in the long years liker must they grow," as experience and training become more and more similar. Men may achieve the gentleness and helpfulness supposed to be natural to women, and women the strength and independence usually ascribed to men. Thus, "man with the head and woman with the heart" is merely the expression of an outgrown ideal. The new ideal already on the horizon is a human being, male or female, with head, heart, and hand working in unison towards a complete unfolding of the personality.

The types described have therefore nothing to do with sex. They are rather individual differences, modes of thought, feeling and behavior, which may occur in either sex under the necessary determining conditions. They will not be further discussed here, since the traits involved have been considered already in other connections.



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Other types and distinctions have been suggested, as for example autonomous and heteronomous or self-determined and other-determined, bromides and sulphites or commonplace and original, and aristocrats and philistines. All the various types passed in review represent interesting individual differences. Their description will help us to appreciate the manifold varieties of human beings, and their explanation will lead us to a better understanding of human nature and greater tolerance for people with a different "cast of thought."

It is worthy of comment that in the classification of people there is a marked tendency towards dichotomous division. The same tendency is manifest in morals and theology where we find the good and the bad, the sheep and the goats, the saved and the lost. This tendency is probably determined psychophysiologically by the dual nature of the human organism and the opposition of pleasant and unpleasant feelings; but it is statistically unsound. Mankind cannot be divided into two separate classes. Such classes represent merely opposite extremes between which fall the majority of the people who are neither brilliant nor stupid, active nor passive, conservative nor radical, good nor bad, sheep nor goats.

## CHAPTER IX

### Development of Personality

THE story of the growth of personality has been mostly told in the preceding pages of this book. Only a few words are necessary to summarize the account, fill in the lacunae and complete the narration. As previously stated, the development of personality presupposes an original psychophysiological equipment as well as environmental influences which play upon the growing organism. The original equipment is not precisely known, but it probably includes, in addition to obvious structural factors, sensory and motor capacities, intelligence and some simple neural integrations. It may also include a drive towards development, a progressive urge, an Apollonian or formative impulse.

Other components, processes, and integrations arise through experience. Patterns of perception are outlined on the changing background of time and space, ideas are learned and associated into general information and systems of knowledge, and knowledge may be organized into a scientific or philosophic world view. New feelings and emotions

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are acquired or differentiated from the confused mélange of affective experience, the affects are conditioned, modified and blended, and complex sentiments are evolved. Impulses also are learned, controlled, combined, and associated with ideas to form more and more comprehensive purposes. Movements are co-ordinated into habits of greater and greater complexity, skills in work and play are learned, and social behavior acquired. Thus intellect becomes more discriminative, affective life more delicate, behavior more refined and the total personality more integrated and cultured.

### *The Value of Training*

In this developmental process education plays or could play an important part. Schools and colleges are devoted to the development of intellect. Their main function is to impart knowledge, improve the technique of learning, and augment cognitive discernment and the power of thought. The other aspects of personality are outside their scope, though considerable attention is given to the physical side and sometimes to character.

The external aspect of character is developed through training in habits, such as speech and writing, habits of work and play, technical and artistic skills, and especially personal manners and social forms. The more important inner aspect

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of character is at the same time enriched by new impulses correlated with these habits. It is also better organized through the association of impulses and the formation of purposes both in routine matters and in the larger plan of life.

But habits of control must also be learned, for control of impulses is the crucial mark of a well-developed character. However, it must be emphasized again that control does not mean inhibition or repression, but rather guidance and direction. Impulses need not be expressed in their crudity nor entirely repressed. They may be directed into suitable channels. The chauffeur in a crowded street neither "steps on the gas" nor jams down the brakes, but steers his automobile by devious ways safely through the traffic. So impulses can be controlled and thus expressed with impunity to the more complete realization of the personality.

The more impulses and the more controls the richer and fuller the personality. But habits of control cannot be learned unless the impulses are frequently experienced. Hence, the building of character requires that impulses and drives should be stimulated, desires and longings aroused and created, but all adequately controlled, that is expressed in accordance with "the rules of the game." In this way it is possible to achieve true

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temperance, delicate balance and the golden mean.

The authoritative prohibition of human activity interferes with this process, and therefore tends to impoverish and weaken character. It stimulates desire but at the same time prevents practice in controlled expression. How can æsthetic drinking habits be learned where alcoholic beverages are prohibited? How can the "betting impulse" be properly controlled where all gambling is forbidden? How could sexual behavior be artistically developed, if the sexes never mingled? How could cultured manners be acquired, if social intercourse were never permitted? In short, how could a golden mean be achieved, if only extremes were allowed? Wherever taboos, prohibitions, and interdictions are rife, there character will be undeveloped or warped and manners uncouth.

Training can also assist in the development of the affective aspect of personality or what we have called temperament. Feelings and emotions are modified and new ones acquired in learning æsthetic appreciation, and the social affects are developed and differentiated in conformity with the demands of the social milieu. The aim of training on the affective side is to impart new affects, make the feelings more subtle, and provide different shades of feeling for different objects and situations. It might contribute to this end to prevent



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thinking as far as possible in affective education but allow feeling full rein and attempt to cultivate finer affective distinctions; just as in scientific training it is desirable to check feeling and permit only cognitive activity.

The modified feelings and emotions become associated with images, ideas, and impulses in the development of the higher æsthetic and social sentiments that characterize the man of culture. Similarly, other affects and impulses become associated with knowledge in the formation of other sentiments and purposes. And so the total personality, which develops anyway in response to general environmental influences, may be improved in breadth, balance and organization in each and all of its aspects as a result of systematic training and guidance.

### *The Power of Love*

Pleasant feelings ordinarily indicate the healthful functioning of the organism, the facilitation of bodily processes; and in turn they react upon the psychophysiological personality, expanding its breadth and increasing its inner harmony. By contrast, unpleasant feelings represent injurious bodily activity and malfunctioning or inhibition of physiological processes, and affect the personality by narrowing its range and intensifying its inner

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conflicts. For the same reason pleasant emotions like joy and elation help to knit-up the personality, while unpleasant emotions like fear and anger tend to tear it down; and the sentiments of love and hate have similar but greater effects.

Hate means the negation of value. It excludes something from the personality, causing it to shrink and withdraw. It may be true that a whole nation can become united in the bitter hatred of a common foe; but the national unity is only achieved through the sacrifice of breadth and tolerance in the people. The nation's gain is the individual's loss; for hate implies inner conflict and contraction of the personality.

Love means the affirmation of value. It expands the personality until it embraces the whole world. It unifies and harmonizes the inner forces of the psyche. It makes little or no difference whether it is social love in Spranger's sense or erotic love in the æsthetic sense. All love may be at basis erotic, though it is assuredly not all narrowly sexual. Erotic love means sensuous love, love that is conscious of itself, love that is not possessive and not necessarily desirous but satisfied in the sheer joy of loving. Such a love permeates the whole being and unites the scattered forces of the personality. It directs its searching rays into the debris of the soul, arousing dormant ideas, awakening

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sleeping emotions, stimulating latent impulses, and giving the whole personality a richer content and greater unity of purpose.

Thus love, free from conflicting passions and unspoiled by disagreeable elements or carping criticisms, contributes to the development of the personality. From this point of view, love is never a misfortune, no matter how transient it may be. Indeed erotic love is never permanent. In one sense the lover always loses, because the love ceases or the loved person departs; but in a deeper sense he always wins, because his own personality unfolds and expands. The fleeting thrill in the moonlight or by the fireside, when two personalities meet in the momentary ecstasy of a greater completeness, has thus a significance in and for itself, though the lovers may pass on like "ships that pass in the night."

### *The Achievement of Unity*

The personality at birth starts forth with a certain mechanical and physiological unity and the meagre beginnings of neural integration; but it achieves more complete psychological and psycho-neural unity as it grows in stature and experience. The behavior becomes more consistent, the primitive drives become more purposive, the affective life more harmonious, the ideas more coher-

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ent, and the whole personality more organized and integrated. This is a gradual process depending upon various capacities and influences and requiring a measure of interest in development. It is therefore not surprising that persons differ so greatly in the degree of integration ultimately achieved.

Thus, unity of personality is contingent rather than necessary. It is not a "gift of the gods," but it may be acquired in the favorable concurrence of nature and nurture. The various degrees of integration achieved by different persons may be regarded as stages in the unifying process, as degrees of unity, so to speak. The lesser degrees are the more common, and perfect unity is only an abstract ideal which may be approximated but never realized.

The unity here under discussion concerns the organization of the psychophysiological personality, or what James called the "empirical me," the personality known or knowable to the self or the observer. No consideration is given to a hypothetical metaphysical ego or "transcendental unity of apperception," which, if it were a reality, would lie beyond the bounds of human knowledge and experience and therefore elude all analysis and description.

Many attempts have been made to find some

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basic unifying principle in the empirical personality and in its different aspects. Spearman's studies have led him to conclude that there is a "general factor" in intellect,<sup>1</sup> and Webb has shown that "persistence of motives" is a central factor in character.<sup>2</sup> A common factor has also been suggested for temperament. Indeed, the central factors are becoming so numerous that it is now expedient to seek another common factor of the central factors. The various factors have been determined by a methodology involving mental tests or ratings and complicated statistical procedures, both of which are open to criticism and are the subjects of controversies not to be considered here.

But it is suggested that the so-called central factors are merely products of the organization of personality, the different amounts of the factors in different persons corresponding to the different degrees of integration. Spearman's general factor is from this point of view an outcome of the organization of intellect. It was deduced from the results of tests which measure aspects of intellect or motor skill rather than intelligence in the sense of native learning capacity. The degree of success in the tests would therefore depend in

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<sup>1</sup>C. Spearman, *Abilities of Man: Their Nature and Measurement*, Macmillan, 1927.

<sup>2</sup>E. Webb, *Character and Intelligence*, Brit. Jour. of Psychol. Mon. Suppl., 1, 1915.



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part upon the degree of organization of intellect and the consequent focussing of ability and interest. Similarly, persistence of motives is a result of the organization of drives. And, furthermore, these two central factors would be correlated to some extent, since organization of the whole personality progresses more or less together. It follows that the various central factors are themselves developmental achievements rather than inborn qualities.

### *Developmental Types*

There are numberless variations both in degree and kind of development, and it is always misleading to speak of types where there are so many possibilities and every individual is unique. But it may be helpful to describe certain very general classes which also represent the main theoretical possibilities of development. These are as follows: (1) a person may remain relatively undeveloped; (2) he may develop by rejection of human nature as such, repression and overcompensation; or (3) he may develop by acceptance, controlled expression, and unfolding of inner potentialities in conformity with outer circumstances. Hence we may speak of undeveloped, overcompensated, and unfolded types. The persons within these categories differ widely among themselves, and most people

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partake of characteristics of all three classes. They are undeveloped in some respects, over-compensated in some, and unfolded in others.

The *undeveloped* type is of course only relatively so. Even the personality of the infant is not completely undeveloped, for physical growth begins with the fertilization of the ovum. But children, feeble-minded persons, savages, and some uncultured folk in civilized communities may be classed as belonging to a relatively undeveloped or natural type. Some features of this type have already been considered in the discussion of balance. People of dominant intellect may be undeveloped in temperament and character, and persons with temperament or character dominant may be undeveloped in the other main aspects of the personality. Furthermore, the simpler components and processes may also lack development. Some ideas and beliefs may remain childish, some instinctive drive crude, or some feeling primitive even in a well-developed personality.

The people who are generally undeveloped are primitive in intellect, temperament and character. Their thinking is childish, magical and dreamlike, and does not conform to logical and scientific standards. They confuse imagination with external reality and mistake contiguity for causality. Their feelings and emotions are coarse all-or-none

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responses, their impulses are crude and uncontrolled, and their behavior uncouth, expressive of their affects and drives.

Their beliefs have the nature of pristine confidence or unquestioning credence, being determined mainly by feeling, desire and perception. They are therefore superstitious and full of bizarre delusions regarding magic potencies, supernatural influences and personal powers. They lack systematic knowledge, refined sentiments and consistently purposive activity. They may be said to accept themselves and be themselves but only in the sense that this is true of children. They are not constrained by bothersome ideals and make no attempt to improve on nature.

The *overcompensated* type of personality develops in the following way: first, the rejection of original human nature, especially its affective and impulsive components which consequently remain primitive; secondly, the partial or complete repression from consciousness of the rejected affects and drives; thirdly, the building-up of defenses in consciousness and behavior in opposition to the rejected or repressed elements, the over-development of habits of control; and, fourthly, the organization and construction of personality upon this artificial, compensatory foundation. Some or all of these processes may occur with reference to

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few or many components of the personality, and the compensation may be small or great. Hence numerous individual differences arise within the general class.

A completely overcompensated person exhibits his defenses in all the aspects of his personality. He is painfully rational and plausible in thought, always conforming to logical principles and scientific procedures. He believes only what can be proved theoretically or demonstrated practically, and he ridicules popular fallacies, superstitions, and all intuitively arrived-at truths, thus completely cloaking by rationalization the basic tendency to magical thinking.

He creates ideals in direct opposition to human nature, which he regards as "conceived in sin and shaped in iniquity"; and he attempts to reshape himself and others to an unnatural mould. He is afraid, he must be a hero. He is aggressive, he must be resigned. He is selfish, he must be altruistic. He is libidinous, he must be frigid. He loves to eat and drink, he must be abstemious. In short, he is "fash'd wi' fleshly lust," he must renounce "the sinful lusts of the flesh." If such a person should happen to attain self-knowledge or insight, he is likely to suffer from disillusionment.

The overcompensated person rarely expresses his feelings and emotions. He strives to achieve

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"the eye of porcelain and the face of wood." Fear and anger must be curbed, and love can be shown only to God or nature. Indeed no affects can be exhibited in human relations; but all may be expressed to the "Glory of God," or in the cause of science, for the compensations are not always religious. He totally rejects many of the fundamental drives as undesirable, repugnant or wicked. His will to power is camouflaged as service to humanity. He eats only to live or to satisfy hunger, he cohabits only to propagate or to relieve physiological tensions, and he does both without artistic elaboration or æsthetic appreciation. His attitude to sexuality is prudish and at the same time obscene. He affects propriety and leers at romantic love. He condemns scanty garb and yet is sure to observe it. He is the lineal descendent of the puritan, and like the latter grows more readily in Nordic soils.

A thoroughly overcompensated person neither knows himself, accepts himself, nor acts naturally; but another one only partly overcompensated may achieve a measure of insight. He may get to know something about human nature in general and himself in particular; but even so he never accepts himself, never appreciates human nature as such. He remains a cynic; for a cynic is one who has insight into human motives and scorns them. He



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has not freed himself from a deprecating ethical evaluation of natural impulses.

Other people of this type not only know themselves but also act in accordance with their fundamental drives, while still retaining the overcompensating moral attitude. Hence they are always doing what they believe is wrong. For instance, they revel in sex matters, though they ridicule and disparage them; and they drink alcoholic beverages, though they regard the act as an undesirable or wicked deed to be done in secret. Their drinking habits and their sex behavior therefore remain coarse. They are not fully emancipated from the worship of outgrown idols; for they have not substituted acceptance and appreciation of natural or universal drives for rejection or mere tolerance.

The third general possibility of development may be called the *unfolded* type, but the name should not be taken to imply that growth is wholly determined from within. This type of development involves a more complete self-realization or self-fulfillment, and presupposes acceptance and appreciation of human nature as such. The personality is built upon the solid foundation of original capacities, universal affects and primary drives. The process of development is a gradual evolution without negation or compensatory movement to the opposite extreme; and it involves the

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artistic elaboration and refinement as well as the systematic organization of experience. It may of course be partial and piecemeal or comprehensive and relatively complete, and so again many sub-types fall within the general class.

Men and women of the unfolded type give due weight to the irrational aspects of human nature. They are rational, but they are likewise sufficiently reasonable to allow affects and impulses a place in the scheme of things. Truth may be cognitively determined, but it is also affectively appreciated. Both scientific and poetic truth are necessary for a complete comprehension of the universe. Their ideals are not in opposition to human nature, but represent its complete unfolding. They are not subject to disillusionment, because they have no false ideals to shatter. They know themselves, accept themselves and do not rationalize their motives, for they appreciate and sanction them; and they are therefore never cynical nor obscene.

Their emotions and feelings are delicately graded and never crude all-or-none responses. Their impulses are manifested in controlled expression, and their behavior is therefore refined and nicely adjusted to external conditions. They develop an art of eating and drinking, an art of loving, and an art of self-defense and self-expression. Thus they obey their impulses, fulfil their

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wishes and consummate their desires in an agreeable and æsthetic manner. They accept nature but improve upon its manifestations and expressions.

People of this type are likely to be radical, since the acceptance of human nature has implications that conflict with established theological and political systems. But their radicalism is never violent nor militant. Their self-knowledge and insight mollify their passions and temper their drives. The type is found among poets and artists and sporadically in the general population. It probably occurs more frequently in the Latin races; and a classical example is Petronius, the *arbiter elegantium* of Nero's court.

If the unfolded personality has also breadth, balance and unity, it may approximate æsthetic perfection. It will have inner beauty and æsthetic appeal. A person of this type has extensive knowledge, manifold interests, and varied behavior. He possesses all the advantages of a fully developed intellect, temperament and character, as described in the discussion of balance. He is integrated and unified but not dull and unchangeable; because different facets of his many-sided personality are drawn out or exhibited on different occasions.

He is interested in people and things, but at the same time sufficiently detached to view the changing panorama of events with equanimity.

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He has achieved that "psychic distance" from which every experience has its own inherent interest and value. He is conscious of himself, and his insight removes all prejudices and delusions of self-importance or inferiority. He knows human nature and loves it in its strength and weakness. His sense of values is not distorted by passing fads and phantom goals of the moment; and the various evaluative attitudes are given their proper place in a comprehensive life-form.

His relation to other persons involves all the aspects of his personality and includes a complete apprehension or comprehension. He "grasps" them intellectually, affectively and conatively. He knows them cognitively. That is to say, he understands them conceptually and explains them scientifically. But he also appreciates them affectively. He intuitively likes or dislikes them. He feels-into or at-one-with them. And in addition he is conatively affected by them. He feels or mimics their attitudes. He is motivated, stimulated or inhibited, inspired or subdued by them. Such an all round grasping of another personality is called by Roback a "perilepsis,"<sup>3</sup> and it is essential to the complete comprehension and appraisal of a human being.

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<sup>3</sup>A. A. Roback, *The Psychology of Character*, Harcourt Brace, 1927, p. 441.

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This threefold apprehension of another person may also extend to the world in general. Things and events may be intellectually understood, affectively appreciated or conatively "grasped." For instance, the burgeoning buds of spring may initiate thought, stir the emotions, or quicken the impulses. They demand analytic explanation, afford æsthetic enjoyment, or inspire to purposive activity. The æsthetically complete person responds in all these ways, thereby achieving a comprehensive grasp of reality. He combines the scientific, poetic and practical attitudes. He is logothete, æsthete and praxithete in one.

### *Personality a Work of Art*

From all that has been said it will be seen that the growth of personality has many analogies to a work of art. The artistic purpose varies with different persons or may be entirely absent, and the means varies with changing circumstances and conditions, but willy-nilly the building goes on. The work is altogether unique for the medium is continually changing. Every fresh experience is incorporated into the growing picture, adding new color and richer meaning and sometimes involving a rearrangement of the total pattern. So the work progresses, always nearing but never reaching completion.



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The outcome is often enough ugly, warped, grotesque or commonplace; but beauty may be achieved by the happy coincidence of inner and outer conditions, and it may become a conscious goal. A person may continually strive for variety, unity, balance and harmony in his mental life, just as he strives for education, technical skill or wealth. This is an artistic endeavor that all may undertake and find perennially interesting; for new possibilities are forever unfolding, fresh vistas opening, and æsthetic ideals changing. Thus the work is always absorbing and satisfying, and it is never finished.

But one day the work ceases, and yet the doing has accomplished something. It gave satisfaction to the worker and enjoyment to his friends. No work of art can last forever, but the joy of the artist and of others has an intrinsic value no matter how transient it may be, and furthermore the influence can be transferred from one person to another down the ages. The marble statue crumbles to dust, the picture fades and falls in pieces, the poem is forgotten, and the song dies almost on the lips of the singer. So the personality may disintegrate and fade away into the long silence. But the building was not in vain.

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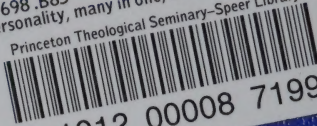
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